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Strabo and Homer: The Homeric Citations in the Geography of Strabo

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STRABO AND HOMER: THE HOMERIC CITATIONS
IN THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

by
William Kahles

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Loyola University of
Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the
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VITA

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following works will be cited by author (first volume unless otherwise noted). I have used Meineke's page and line numbers in referring to the text of Strabo.

Aujac- Lasserre	Aujac, G., and Lasserre, F., <u>Strabon: Geographie</u> , vol. 1 (Paris 1969). Lasserre, F., <u>Strabon: Geographie</u> , vol. 2 (Paris 1966).
Bidder	Bidder, H., <u>De Strabonis studiis Homericis</u> (Berlin 1889).
Bunbury	Bunbury, E., <u>A History of Ancient Geography</u> (New York 1959).
Jones	Jones, H., <u>The Geography of Strabo</u> , 8 vols. (London 1932).
Meineke	Meineke, A., <u>Strabonis Geographica</u> , 3 vols. (Leipzig 1877).
Thomson	Thomson, J., <u>History of Ancient Geography</u> (New York 1965).
Tozer	Tozer, H., <u>A History of Ancient Geography</u> (New York 1964).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

All that we know of Strabo's life and work is found in the pages of his Geography.¹ He was born probably in the winter of 64/63 B.C. at Amaseia in Pontus and died there in 24 or 25 A.D. His ancestors were mainly Greek with some Asian blood intermingled. There was a strong military strain in the family--a family of wealth and influence, for Strabo had much leisure time to devote to his studies and writing. He had an elaborate Greek education, later studying under the Peripatetics and eventually becoming an adherent of Stoicism. The influence of Greece and Asia Minor was strong in Strabo's life, but he also appreciated the Roman achievements in military affairs and government. Though Strabo claims more extensive travels than any other geographer before his time, his trips to Rome, Ethiopia on the Nile, Egypt, and the Euxine Sea seem

¹For details of Strabo's life with bibliography and discussion of problems see Aujac-Lasserre vii-xlvi. The best treatment of the geographer's lost work, Historical Memoirs, is E. Honigmann, "Strabon," RE, 4A, 1 (1931) 85-90. For history of the manuscript tradition see Aujac-Lasserre xlviii-xcvii.

to have been in some official capacity rather than for scientific research.

Before his Geography Strabo wrote a history of the Roman world covering events prior to the opening and subsequent to the closing of Polybius' History. These Historical Memoirs ('Ιστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα) are lost,² but Strabo himself says that they were based upon the same principles as his Geography (16.27 ff.)--studies founded in moral and political philosophy, addressed particularly to men of high position. We can do no more than date this work before the Geography. Scholars place the date of the latter from 7 B.C. to 19 A.D.

Strabo divided his Geography into seventeen books. Books 1 and 2 are an introduction to the whole work--a history of geography before Strabo with long passages in defense of Homer's knowledge and in criticism of particular theories held by Strabo's predecessors. Books 3-7 are a description of western Europe--Iberia, Gaul, Britain, Italy, and Sicily. In Books 8-10 Strabo treats Greece and the adjoining islands. Books 11-17 are a description of Asia Minor and the lands to the north, Egypt, and North Africa.

Strabo based his Geography on his own travels, word of mouth of eyewitnesses, and written works. The last is

²For a summary of the fragments see Honigmann (above, note 1) 87-90.

by far the most significant source. Because a great deal of what we know about ancient geography has been preserved in Strabo's Geography, much emphasis has been placed on determining and analyzing the sources on which Strabo based his work.³ This Quellenforschung led E. Honigmann to conclude an article on Strabo's life and works with an evaluation of the Geography in terms of what it does and does not preserve from ancient geography:

Die Lektüre seines Werkes erweckt infolgedessen immer wieder ein zwiespältiges Gefühl: Enttäuschung über das, was seine Verständnislosigkeit uns vorenthält, neben Befriedigung über das viele Wertvolle, das er uns immer noch gerettet hat.⁴

This view of Strabo portrays him as a compiler or editor, and detracts from his individual qualities as writer and geographer. It is not surprising that Hugo Bidder attempted to trace all the Homeric quotations in Strabo to the geographer's predecessors. Are we to infer, then, that Homeric influence in Strabo's Geography is merely a reflection of Strabo's sources, a kind of residue left by those who had gone before him? I think not. But first it is necessary to consider at least one example to understand Bidder's method of argument.

The Homeric quotations in Book 3 have been traced to Posidonius (Bidder 6-7). Bidder argues that bits of infor-

³For bibliography see Jones xxxiv-xxxv.

⁴Honigmann (above, note 1) 151.

mation in Book 3 closely parallels details in Book 1 in passages which Strabo himself attributes to Posidonius (cf. Bidder 4-6). The following similarities have been noted:

11. 8.485-486 praised in 201.16-17 and at the foot of page 2; Homer founds poetic myth in fact (202.16-18 and 7.27-28); Homer knew the Cimmerians lived in Bosphorus (201.22-24 and 7.8-10); Homer knew of Heracles' expedition (202.8-11 and 2.20-21); Strabo mentions the Elysian Fields and the Islands of the Blessed, and quotes Od. 4.563-568 (203.9-15 and 2.23-3.3). The final argument is that Strabo mentions the city of Odysseia and the temple of Athene in 202.20-22. The same facts are found in Book 3, 212.25-26, and are attributed to Posidonius by Strabo at 212.26.

Strong as it may seem, Bidder's argument is not completely convincing. He does not mention that in 212.27 Artemidorus and Asclepiades are also cited as authorities for the same facts along with Posidonius: ὡς Ποσειδωνίος τε εἶρηκε καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανός. The situation is closer to what H. F. Tozer says about Strabo and his sources:

Indeed, however much Strabo may have been indebted to others for his materials, his independence of judgement is shown by his carefulness in comparing his authorities and balancing their statements, and by the trouble which he takes to cast the facts which he collects in a mould of his own.⁵

⁵Tozer 249.

Strabo does not blindly record facts as they occur in a source but weighs and selects in accordance with his own purposes. Though Strabo may be accused of not being as critical of Homeric facts as Eratosthenes was, at the same time his use of Homer does not approach the excess of Demetrius' thirty books on the sixty lines of the Trojan Catalogue in Il. 2. This is also evident in Strabo's attitude toward Posidonius and Polybius concerning the wealth of the Turdetanians.⁶ Some stories are too fantastic and others too detailed to suit Strabo's intentions. So too in the case of the Homeric citations, we must consider them as selected--no matter whether from secondary sources or from a Homeric text--and included by Strabo for some purpose. And yet, it is important to realize that in so doing we are not denying the influence of Strabo's predecessors:

Homeric discussion had gone on from Eratosthenes' time to Strabo's, and Homer's fame had in no wise abated. No wonder, then, that Strabo should give so much space to Homeric subjects. Herein he reflected the studies of his forerunners.⁷

What should be emphasized here is the likelihood that Strabo exercised discretion in treating his predecessors, among them Homer.

With the support of arguments based only on one passage from Strabo's Geography we can do no more than ten-

⁶See the opening pages of Chapter III.

⁷E. Sihler, "On Homer and Strabo," Proceedings of the American Philological Association 11 (1881) 5.

tatively accept that Strabo has a definite use in mind for Homer. Nevertheless, we may still ask how Homer is used. Little has been done in this field, a field one scholar has described as "so vast, so persistent, so ubiquitous."⁸ Honigmann has categorically denied that Strabo appreciated Homer as poet or considered him an authority for history:

Homer hat für ihn nicht als Dichter oder Originalquelle für primitive Zustände in Hellas, sondern nur als Objekt grammatisch-antiquarischer Untersuchungen und geographischer Theorien Bedeutung.⁹

Strabo's use of Homer is also belittled in the general works on ancient geography. Tozer speaks of "Strabo's extravagant veneration for Homer as a geographical authority."¹⁰ J. Oliver Thomson says that Strabo shares with Polybius "the common crotchet of overrating Homer's knowledge."¹¹ E. H. Bunbury speaks of "the blind reverence paid by most Greeks of his day to the works of the great poet."¹² And yet, just as the view of Strabo as a compiler or editor has changed, especially in more recent time, there have also been attempts to see Homer as a genuine authority in Strabo. E. Sihler made the general obser-

⁸E. Sihler, "Strabo of Amaseia: His Personality and his Works," AJP 44 (1923) 142.

⁹Honigmann (above, note 1) 151.

¹⁰Tozer 256.

¹¹Thomson 209.

¹²Bunbury 214.

vation that Strabo considered Homer's words as "very substantial history."¹³ This would seem to fit with the geographer's tendency to "historical digression."¹⁴ Speculation, however, on Strabo's use of Homer (and the reasons for it) has been sparse and based on a small number of the Homeric citations in Strabo. The most recent work to be found is in a book by Germaine Aujac. An entire chapter is devoted to Strabo's view of Homer, and it may be summarized by quoting the chapter's concluding paragraph:

Connaisance scientifique, sagesse philosophique, charme poétique (ou artistique), telles sont les qualités qui font d'Homère un vrai géographe aux yeux de Strabon. Telles sont aussi sans doute les qualités que se voudrait notre auteur, qu'il s'attribue peut-être partiellement d'ailleurs, dans l'espoir réconfortant d'être un jour considéré comme le digne successeur d'un tel Maître.¹⁵

According to Aujac Strabo valued Homer as poet and scientist, hiding under the pleasant guise of myth his knowledge of the ocean's movements and alluvial deposits, the arctic circle, the spheroidal shape of the world, and the winds. Her analysis, however, is based on a small number of citations, most of them from Books 1 and 2 of Strabo's Geography.

It should be clear now that a thorough investigation

¹³ Sihler (above, note 8) 143.

¹⁴ Bunbury 214.

¹⁵ G. Aujac, Strabon et la science de son temps (Paris 1966) 36.

of the Homeric citations in Strabo is necessary: first, to demonstrate once more--this time in regard to Homer--that Strabo was not a blind compiler or editor; second, to describe accurately and completely the ways in which Strabo uses Homer. All the quotations from the Iliad and Odyssey, all references to the epics, and all allusions to Homer by name must be examined. Then the citations must be listed, discussed, and categorized. The body of the paper will require that the contexts in which the citations occur be paraphrased. The reader is requested to take Strabo's advice (888.1-2) and "endure the dry part." For once the citations have been completely gathered, it can be shown that Strabo was not an unthinking compiler, not an editor of older works, but that the geographer used and valued Homer as an authority in various fields because the poet provided information which agreed with Strabo's philosophy of geography.

Despite its age Meineke's text of 1877 has been selected for use in this paper. It remains the authoritative complete text and has been chosen for use in the compilation of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. Wherever relevant its readings have been checked against the texts of Jones and Aujac-Lasserre. The most notable characteristic of the Meineke text in regard to the Homeric citations is that a small number of them have been excised from the

text.¹⁶ Modern editors, however, generally disagree,¹⁷ and most of the excised citations have been restored. In regard to Homer's text, Bidder concluded that Strabo's readings contribute nothing new (Bidder 55), but Thomas W. Allen finds the geographer useful in furnishing the readings of other people, noting among the various categories omissions and transpositions in Strabo's text.¹⁸

I have used the Oxford editions of the Iliad and Odyssey by David Monro and Thomas Allen, hereafter referred to as the Oxford Text. All translations of Strabo and Homer are my own except where noted. Maps have been provided for Chapters III-V. They do not include everything treated in the paper but should help the reader follow the course of Strabo's narrative more easily.

¹⁶Meineke's explanations of text are not found in Strabonis Geographica but in a supplementary work, A. Meineke, Vindiciarum Straboniarum liber (Berlin 1852).

¹⁷See, for example, W. Aly, Strabon von Amaseia (Bonn 1957) 20: "Meineke aber hat dann die Lehre von dem miserablen Zustand des Strabontextes im Allgemeinen und den pessimus interpolator im Besonderen geradezu zum Dogma erhoben und beherrscht heute damit noch das Feld."

¹⁸T. Allen, Homer: The Origins and the Transmission (Oxford 1924) 262-263.

CHAPTER II

BOOKS 1 AND 2: DEFENSE OF HOMER AND PRELIMINARIES

Books 1 and 2 constitute Strabo's introduction to his geography. A critical history of his predecessors (especially Eratosthenes and his three books on geography) spills over from the first book to the second. Homer is mentioned first among previous geographers, and more than half of Book 1 is spent proving Homer's broad knowledge of geography--for example, his acquaintance with Oceanus, the Ethiopians, the Nomad Scythians of the north, the geography of Odysseus', Jason's, and Menelaus' wanderings. Early in the book Strabo disputes Eratosthenes' contention that the poet's aim is to please and not to instruct, and from this point Strabo's defense of Homer's knowledge begins. Book 2 is a continuation of Strabo's criticism of Eratosthenes, and it concludes--after attacks on Polybius and Posidonius--with a summary outline of Books 3-17.

Books 1 and 2 have been the target of critics.¹⁹

¹⁹See Bunbury 219-221 and Thomson 209.

Although Strabo sets out ostensibly to give a history of geography and a defense of his own work, he concentrates on specific topics and frequently becomes entangled in irrelevant digressions. In Book 1 a constant cause of these digressions is the geographer's tendency to impassioned defense of Homer's knowledge against attacks upon the poet by his predecessors.²⁰ Aujac comments on Book 1 in the following way: "Chez Strabon, la logique le cède bien souvent à la passion. Effet de la passion assurément que cette défense forcenée d'Homère qui occupe une grande partie du livre."²¹

Strabo's Introduction

Strabo opens his work by placing geography in the sphere of the philosopher. Three reasons are given: first, those who have treated geography were philosophers, and the first among these is Homer; second, only a man of wide learning (πολυμάθεια) can undertake geography, and wide learning is said to constitute philosophy; third, the utility of geography requires that the geographer be a philosopher, that is, a man inquiring into the art of life and happiness. Strabo then proposes (1.21) to consider each point in detail, and Homer is the first to be treated.

²⁰ For possible sources of the Homeric quotations in Books 1 and 2 see Bidder 1-18.

²¹ Aujac-Lasserre 11-12.

Both Strabo and his predecessors are right in making Homer the founder of geography. Homer had surpassed both ancients and more recent writers, not only in the excellence of his poetry, ἀλλὰ σχεδόν τι καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐμπειρίᾳ τὸν πολιτικών. Strabo continues as follows:

Because of this he engaged not only in public matters in order to learn of as many of them as possible and to hand this down to those after him, but also in the geography of individual places and the inhabited world in its entirety, both land and sea. Otherwise he would not have gone to the ends of the earth, going about it in his description. (2.2-2.7)

Down to 6.30 Strabo attempts to prove that Homer really said that the world is surrounded by Oceanus on all sides. Homer mentions some countries by name, while only hinting at others. He openly names Libya, Ethiopia, Erembia, and Sidonia, but only vaguely refers to the far east and far west by saying that they are washed by Oceanus. The sun and the constellations rise out of Oceanus and set in it:²²

ἥελιος μὲν ἔπειτα νέον προσέβαλλεν ἀρούρας,
ἐξ ἀκαλαρρεΐταιο βαθυρρόου Ὠκεανοῖο. (Il. 7.421-422)

ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' Ὠκεανῷ λαμπρόν φάος ἡέλλοιο,
ἔλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν. (Il. 8.485-486)

As for the west, Homer makes it clear that the inhabitants are wealthy and blessed with a temperate climate. He had probably heard of Iberia's wealth and of the invasions of Heracles from the Phoenicians. The Zephyrus

²² Meineke strikes these two quotations from his text. They are restored by Jones and Aujac-Lasserre.

blows in the west according to Homer, and he locates the Elysian Plain there also, the place where Menelaus will be sent by the gods:

ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
 ἀθάνατοι πέμπουσιν, ὅθι Ξανθὸς Παδάμανθος
 τῇ περ ῥηίστη βιοτὴ πέλει . . .
 οὐ νικητός, οὐτ' ἄρ' χειμῶν πολὺς . . .
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγυὺ πνέοντος ἀήτας
 Ὠκεανὸς ἀνέησι. (Od. 4.563-568)

The Islands of the Blessed also lie in the west.

Strabo next notes (3.6 ff.) that Homer makes it clear that the Ethiopians live at the ends of the earth on the banks of Oceanus. This is seen in Od. 1.23: Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν. This supposition is also supported by Il. 1.423-424: Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας / χθιζὸς ἔβη μετὰ δαῖτα. The farthest land to the north is also bounded by Oceanus, for Homer says (Il. 18.489 and Od. 5.275): οἷη δ' ἄμμορος ἐστὶ λο-ετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο. By the "Bear" and "Wain" Homer means the "arctic circle," for otherwise he would not have said that the Bear has no share in the baths of Oceanus. Strabo continues by saying that a great many stars complete their revolutions in the same part of the sky which is always visible to the poet. We should not, therefore, accuse Homer of ignorance because he knew only of one Bear, for it is probable that the other Bear had not been marked out in Homer's time. Strabo then notes that the same is true of other constellations. Consequently, Crates is incorrect

in emending the line from οἷη to οἷος.²³ He thus makes the adjective agree with "arctic circle" and not "Bear."

Heraclitus' interpretation of the Bear as "arctic circle" is better and more Homeric, for the former is the boundary beyond which the stars neither rise nor set. Therefore, by "Bear" or "Wain" Homer means "arctic circle," and by "Oceanus" he means the horizon where the stars rise and set. When Homer says that the Bear makes its revolution without touching Oceanus, he shows that he knows the arctic circle touches the most northerly part of the horizon. If we interpret Homer's verse in this way, the terrestrial horizon closely corresponds to Oceanus, and the arctic circle touches the earth at its most northerly inhabited point. Therefore, this part of the earth, according to Homer (as Strabo says), is washed by Oceanus. Homer also knows of the people of the north. They are not mentioned by name, but their lifestyle is correctly described as nomadic, and they as (Il. 13.5-6 paraphrased) ἀγαυοὺς ἱππη-
μολγοὺς γαλακτοφάγους ἀβίους τε.

Homer indicates in other ways that Oceanus surrounds the earth. Strabo cites Hera as saying in Il. 14.200-201: εἴμι γὰρ ὁψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης / Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν. Strabo explains that Homer means Oceanus touches all the extremities, and these, in turn, surround

²³ Strabo here quotes the line again in emended form.

the earth. In the making of Achilles' arms Homer places Oceanus in a circle around the hero's shield (Il. 18.606-607). Another example of Homer's φιλοπραγμασύνης is his knowledge of the tides of the ocean, ἀφορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο (Il. 18.399). Homer says Charybdis τρίς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίσχιν ἐπ' ἡματι, τρίς δ' ἀναρροιβδεῖ (Od. 12.105). Even if "thrice" does not seem correct,²⁴ the principle remains the same. The phrase, ἐξ ἀκαλαρρείταιο (Il. 7.422), is a reference to the flood tide which comes with a gentle current. Posidonius conjectures from the poet's reference to the headlands being sometimes covered and sometimes bare, and from Homer's calling Oceanus a river, that the poet means "the flow of tides" by "the current of Oceanus." Strabo, however, criticizes this view by stating that the swell and ebb of the tide is not like a river's stream. He finds Crates' explanation more acceptable: Oceanus as a whole is "deep-flowing" and "back-flowing," and also a river. A part of Oceanus is spoken of as a river or "stream of a river." It must be the part which Homer means when he says (Od. 12.1-2): αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ποταμοῖο λίπεν ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο / νηῦς, ἀπὸ δ' ἔκκετο κύμα θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο. According to Strabo, Homer must mean "Oceanus" by "sea," for otherwise the line means that after Odysseus left

²⁴ Strabo notes that there are actually two tidal movements per day. He explains that Homer may have strayed from fact or that there may be a text corruption.

Oceanus, he entered Oceanus.

After supporting what Homer means about Oceanus by citing common sense and the evidence of exploration, Strabo concludes (6.31) that Homer knows and clearly describes the remote ends of the inhabited earth and what surrounds it. Strabo then discusses the poet's familiarity with the Mediterranean Sea.

The geographer begins by noting that Homer knows the Mediterranean because he is acquainted with the countries by which it is bounded.²⁵ Homer also knows about the Propontis, the Euxine Sea up to Colchis, Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Cimmerians, who, near Homer's time, overran the whole region from the Bosphorus to Ionia. At any rate, Homer hints that the country is gloomy and that the Cimmerians are (Od. 11.15-16 and 19):

ἥερι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοῦς
'Ἡέλιος φαέθων ἐπιλάμπεται²⁶ . . .
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νύξ ὅλοῃ τέταται.

Homer also knows of the Ister River, since he speaks of the Mysians, a tribe which lives on the Ister, and he is also acquainted with the seaboard next to the Ister on the Thracian side as far as the Peneius River, since he mentions the Paeonians, Athos, Axius, and the neighboring islands.

²⁵ Strabo lists the following: Libya, Egypt, Phoenicia, the continent opposite Cyprus, the Solymi, Lycia, Caria, the seaboard between Mycale and the Troad, the islands adjacent.

²⁶ The Oxford Text reads ἐπιδέρεται.

Homer also mentions the entire coast of Greece as far as Thesprotia, the promontories of Italy (for he speaks of Temesa and Sicily), and the headlands of Iberia. If Homer misses anything in between these countries, he should be pardoned, for even the professional geographer omits many details. The poet should also be pardoned for giving details of a mythical nature in his historic and didactic narrative. Eratosthenes is wrong in his contention that the aim of poetry is to entertain, not to instruct. Strabo asserts that the wisest writers say poetry is a sort of basic philosophy. The geographer promises a longer refutation later in the book.²⁷ He then concludes (8.4) that he hopes what he has said so far is sufficient to prove that Homer was the first geographer.

To 10.7 Strabo again defends the notion that a geographer must be a man of wide learning. In geography the celestial and terrestrial phenomena are closely related, and in no way separate, ὅσσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης (Il. 8.16). Strabo considers a knowledge of the sea important in addition to knowledge of the land. Both ancient tradition and reason make it clear that the benefit is great for anyone who has information of this kind. At any rate, the poets make the wisest heroes those who visited many places and roamed much. It is a great achievement to have

²⁷ See below, pp. 21-22.

πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰδεῖν ἄστεα καὶ νόον γνῶναι (Od. 1.3 paraphrased). Strabo gives more examples: Nestor boasts of having lived with the Lapithae, to whom he had gone uninvited: τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπλής γαίης· καλέσαντο γὰρ αὐτοί (Il. 1.270). Menelaus also boasts (Od. 4.83-85):

Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἴγυπτους ἐπαληθεῖς
Αἰθιοπὰς θ' ἰκόμεν καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἑρεμβούς
καὶ Λιβύην.

To this the hero adds the distinctive specialty of the country: ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι· / τρὶς γὰρ τίκτει μῆλα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν (Od. 4.85-86). While speaking of Thebes in Egypt, Menelaus says (Od. 4.229): τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα. Of Thebes itself he says: αἳ θ' ἐκατομυλοὶ εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἐκάστην / ἄνδρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν (Il. 9.383-384). It was certainly because of Heracles' broad experience that Homer speaks of him as a man who was μεγάλων ἐπιίστορα ἔργων (Od. 21.26). Strabo then repeats that his theory is supported both by ancient tradition and reason.

The geographer next states that geography is directly useful to commanders and rulers. But, since rulers are concerned with different sections of the world, it is impossible that they (or geographers) be equally familiar with all regions of the world. The needs of a certain area demand that it be well known. The Indian geographer will not add details about Boeotia such as Homer gives (Il. 2. 496-497; 12.2-3): οἳ θ' Ὑρίην ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αὐλῖδα πετρή-

εσσαν / Σχοῖνόν τε Σκῶλόν τε. These details are not relevant to India or Indian rulers, for utility does not urge this--and utility most of all should be the standard in these matters. Geography, therefore, is concerned with the practice of political philosophy.

Strabo next states that geography also involves theory (13.24 ff.), as, for example, the theory of myth and history. When a man tells of the wanderings of Odysseus, Menelaus, or Jason (indirect reference to Homer), he can make a useful contribution if he draws a lesson from the hardships suffered by the heroes. The geographer as well should pay attention to what is useful rather than to what is famous and charming.

In treating geography Strabo notes again the need for other disciplines--especially geometry and astronomy. Among scientific propositions which must be taken for granted is the spheroidal shape of the earth's surface. Strabo sees evidence of this in the common fact that sailors cannot see distant lights. The curvature of the earth seems to have been noted by Homer also (Od. 5.393): ὅξ' ἔμ' ἀλά προῖδ' ὄν, μεγάλου ὑπὸ κύματος ἀρθείς.

According to Strabo more knowledge that must be taken for granted is in the field of astronomy. A person must not be so ignorant as to exclaim in fear as Odysseus did (Od. 10.190-192):

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ τ' ἴδμεν ὅπη ζόφος οὐδ' ὅπη ἡώς,

οὐδ' ὅπη ἥελιος φαεσίμβροτος εἶσ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν,
οὐδ' ὅπη ἀννεῖται.

And yet, on the other hand, one should not have extremely accurate knowledge--that would be useless in Strabo's view.

The geographer concludes his introduction (down to 17.13) with some general remarks on his work as a whole. Although Strabo does not cite Homer in this passage, we should note carefully what the geographer writes: Geography is intended for the liberally educated man, both the statesman and the private citizen. If a person has given no thought to excellence or practical wisdom, he will be unable to praise or blame or to pass judgement on the historical facts worth being recorded in this geography (κρίνειν ὅσα μνήμης ἄξια τῶν γεγονότων). Strabo goes on to say that his work is especially intended for those in exalted positions. In his geography only the works of distinguished men shall be recorded. Petty and ignoble things (μικρὰ καὶ ἄδοξα) are left out, and attention is paid to the noble and great (ἐνδόξοις καὶ μεγάλοις), the practically useful, the memorable, and the entertaining. Strabo asks that the same indulgence be granted by the audience to his work as would be granted to colossal statues--namely, that the whole and not the individual parts be judged. Strabo concludes by stating that he has tried to show his work to be serious and worthy of a philosopher.

Defense of Homer

Strabo's next concern is to justify another geography in an already crowded field of study. One justification is the new territory opened by the Romans. It deserves a full treatment (down to 18.16). Strabo then moves to criticism of his predecessors (18.17 ff.). The first to be considered is Eratosthenes, and special attention is given to Hipparchus' objections to him. Strabo first claims that Eratosthenes' reliability is not as faulty as some would have it, and yet not without blame. Eratosthenes praises Bion, for example, but still says that people often said of Bion the following (18.32): οἷν ἐκ βαλέων ὁ Βίων (Od. 18.74). Strabo decides that he must criticize Eratosthenes' geography as much as he is able to.

Strabo begins with an attack on Eratosthenes' proposition that poetry aims to entertain. On the contrary, says Strabo, the ancients asserted that poetry is a kind of basic philosophy, which from boyhood introduces to us how to live and pleasurably instructs us in character, emotions, and actions. Strabo's school (the Stoics) goes even further to state that the wise man alone is poet. For this reason poetry is the primary form of education. Musicians also realize its worth. Homer too speaks of the bards as men wise in morality, as when he says of the guardian of Clytemnestra (Od. 3.267-268): ᾧ πόλλ' ἐπέτελλεν /

Ἀτρεΐδης Τροίηνδε κίων εἵρουσθαι ἀκοιτίν. Aegisthus was unable to overcome Clytemnestra until (Od. 3.270-272)

. . . τὸν μὲν ἀοιδὸν ἄγων ἐς νῆσον ἐρήμην
κάλλιπεν . . .
τὴν δ' ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν ἀνήγαγεν ὄνδε δόμονδε.

Yet, Eratosthenes contradicts himself, for in the beginning of his work he states that all poets like to show off their knowledge of geography. Homer, at any rate, showed that he knew Ethiopia, Libya, and Egypt. He also went into detail on Greece, calling Thisbe "haunt of doves" (Il. 2.502), Haliartus "grassy" (Il. 2.503), Anthedon "at the extremes" (Il. 2.508), and Lilaëa "by the springs of Cephissus" (Il. 2.523). Eratosthenes adds that the poet never used an inappropriate epithet. Is, then, Homer an entertainer or an instructor? According to Strabo the latter is obviously true, but since Homer fills in everything with mythical marvels, Eratosthenes unjustly excludes Homer from being an instructor. Strabo criticizes those who attribute to Homer knowledge in every scientific field: why should it add to the excellence of the poet? Although the man who does try to endow Homer with every skill and art may be ridiculous, it is also extreme to deny Homer vast learning. The audience of Homer must also gain in those subjects (geography, generalship, agriculture, rhetoric) in which a poetic presentation has special force. Strabo now cites some examples of Homeric knowledge.

Odysseus beyond all others has been adorned with every sort of knowledge and excellence of this kind (21. 9 ff.). Odysseus πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω (Od. 1.3), εἰδὼς παντοίους τε δόλους καὶ μήδεα πυκνά (Il. 3.202). He is the πτολίπορθος and the taker of Troy

βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι καὶ ἡπεροπηίδι τέχνῃ·
τούτου γ' ἐσπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πυρός αἰθομένοιο
ἄμφω νοστήσαιμεν. (Il. 10.246-248)

Odysseus prides himself even more on being a farmer: ἐν ποίῃ· δρέπανον μὲν ἐγὼν εὐκαμπὲς ἔχοιμι / καὶ δὲ σὺ τοῖον ἔχοις (Od. 18.368-369). He says of plowing: τῷ κέ μ' ἴδοις, εἰ ὦλκα διηνεκέα προταμοίμην (Od. 18.375). Not only does Homer have wisdom of this kind, but all enlightened men cite the poet as a witness of the truth to prove that practical experience contributes to wisdom.

According to Strabo rhetoric is also evident in Odysseus' words throughout the Iliad, in the trial, and in the embassy to Priam (which Antenor narrates to the Trojan king and Helen as they watch the Greeks from the wall of Troy; Il. 3.221-223):

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὅπα μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος εἶη
καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίησιν,
οὐκ ἄν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ γ' ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος.

Homer, consequently, must be considered as experienced in the role of leader and speaker, and as a helper to his audience, not as some clown or buffoon who flatters and bewitches his audience. The skill of the poet requires, unlike the craftsman, a good man to achieve poetic excel-

lence. Strabo argues further (22.14-23.13) that rhetoric has its historical roots in ancient poetry.

Eratosthenes is next criticized by the geographer (23.15 ff.) for denying Homer knowledge of places far away and for attacking the poet's myth-making. As for the latter, Strabo notes that Homer was at least more accurate than more recent writers, for besides creating marvels he used allegory and revised myths, and used popular favor to instruct. This is especially so in the wanderings of Odysseus. Eratosthenes' criticism of Homer and his commentators as dealers in nonsense is mistaken and deserves to be examined in detail.

Before the next mention of Homer (25.12 ff.), Strabo briefly gives a history of myth in education: In the beginning myth was the primary tool of education in the state. In later times it was still essential for educating the young and for influencing the uneducated masses. Poetry, therefore, is able to exert discipline in every period of life. In Strabo's time history and philosophy is for the few, while poetry is for the general public--this is especially true for Homer's poetry. Strabo continues: since Homer used myth to educate, he paid special attention to the truth. Homer ἐν δ' ἐτίθει (II. 8.541) what was false, approving of the truth, but using

the untrue to win popular favor and command the masses. ὥς ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνὴρ (Od. 6.232), so did Homer add a mythical element to fact, making his style pleasant and adorned. Homer's purpose, however, is the same as that of the historian or narrator of facts. His method is to take an actual occurrence like the Trojan War or Odysseus' wanderings, and deck it out with myth. Just as Polybius notes, a man is a better liar when he mixes truth with his lies. This is what Homer means when he says of Odysseus (Od. 19.203): ἔσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα. "Many" is not "all," for otherwise they would not be in the likeness of truth. Strabo now gives some concrete examples of fact in Homeric poetry.

Homer based his stories on real history. Aeolus was once the king over the islands of Liparaei. The Cyclopes and the Laestrygonians were lords over the region about Aetna and Leontini, and for this reason the Strait was avoided, and Scylla and Charybdis were infested with brigands. In the same way we find that the rest of the people mentioned by Homer lived in other parts of the world. Thus does Homer correctly move the Cimmerians, inhabitants of the gloomy Cimmerian Bosphorus, to a dark region in the neighborhood of Hades--a region appropriate to the mythology of Odysseus' wanderings. The chronicle writers make it clear that Homer knew the Cimmerians, since they fix

the date of the Cimmerian invasion a short time before Homer or during his life.

Strabo also finds essential facts in Homer's account of Jason and the Argonauts. From his knowledge of the Colchians, Jason's expedition to Aea, and the stories both factual and fictional concerning Circe's and Medea's magic potions and similarity of character, Homer invented a relationship between the two, although they lived far apart, and a common residence in Oceanus. There are indications that the Argonauts wandered in the region of the Ceraunian Mountains, the Adriatic Sea, the Gulf of Posidonia, and the islands off Tyrrhenia. The Cyaneae also furnished Homer an additional fact--they made the passage through the mouth of the strait of Byzantium very difficult. If we keep in mind the similarities between Circe's Aea and Medea's Aea, and Homer's Planctae and the Symplegades, Jason's mythical voyage through the Planctae becomes more believable. It is very similar to Odysseus' passage through Scylla and Charybdis. In the same way, the people of Homer's time considered the Pontic Sea beyond the boundaries of the earth like Oceanus. Therefore, they called it "The Pontus," as they called Homer "The Poet." Perhaps for the same reason Homer transferred some of the characteristics of the Pontus to Oceanus. For example, since the Solymi occupied the loftiest peaks of the Taurus Mountains (particularly

in the view of those who lived on the Pontic coast), they presented the most conspicuous altitudes of the south. For this reason they were moved out by Oceanus. Homer says of Odysseus at sea (Od. 5.282-283): τὸν δ' ἐξ Αἰθιοπῶν ἀνιῶν κρείων Ἐνοσίχθων / τηλόθεν ἐκ Σολύμων ὀρέων ἶδεν. Homer may have also borrowed the idea of one-eyed Cyclopes from Scythian history according to Strabo: the Arimaspians were reported to have had a single eye.

Strabo next notes (27.19 ff.) that, having made these preliminary remarks, he must ask what is meant when people place the wanderings of Odysseus near Sicily and Italy. Strabo marks out two schools on the subject. The better interpretation assumes that Homer was convinced that the region was the location of Odysseus' wanderings and that he elaborated the story in poetic fashion. Traces of Odysseus' wanderings are found from Italy to Iberia, and according to Strabo they indicate the same conclusion. The inferior interpretation takes Homer's story as plain fact. The poet is obviously indulging in marvels when he describes Oceanus, Hades, the cattle of the sun, entertainment by the goddesses, Cyclopes and Laestrygonians, Scylla's shape, the distances covered, and many other things. Moreover, it is not worthwhile to refute such a misinterpretation of Homer. It would be the same thing as thinking that Homer exactly describes Odysseus' return to Ithaca, the massacre of the suitors, and the final battle between

Odysseus and the Ithacans. It is also improper to contend with the better interpretation.

At 28.11 ff. Strabo renews his attack on Eratosthenes, for he disagrees with both schools of Homeric interpretation just described. Eratosthenes faults the first (the better) for exaggerating what is clearly fictitious and wasting time upon it. The second school is wrong because poets deal in nonsense and do not have knowledge of places or of arts which lead to excellence. Eratosthenes claims that, because Homer's myths have real scenes and fictitious scenes,²⁸ the places in Odysseus' wanderings also must be fictitious. Those who deny this are refuted because they disagree among themselves. At any rate, Strabo continues, some place the Sirens at Cape Pelorias, others two thousand stadia away at Sirenussae.

Strabo counters by saying that it is not reasonable to set aside the whole body of knowledge because interpretations do not always agree. In fact there are times when the whole account should be more acceptable for the same reason. Strabo follows with an example. Consider the question of whether Odysseus' wanderings took place near Sicily and Italy, and whether the Rocks of the Sirens are in that area. Some people disagree on where the Rocks

²⁸Strabo cites Ilion, Mount Ida, and Mount Pelion as factual locations. He cites the home of the Gorgons and Geryon as a fictitious site.

are to be placed exactly but do agree that they are to be placed in the vicinity of Sicily and Italy. Other people add that there is a monument to Parthenope at Neapolis.²⁹ Although it is a third site, it further proves that the Rocks of the Sirens are in the vicinity of Italy and Sicily. Also, Neapolis lies on a gulf formed by the Sirenussae. Strabo concludes:

. . . we do not seek that the poet be absolutely accurate in every detail. Even so we are not able to assume that Homer put together the story of Odysseus' wanderings without any knowledge at all of how they took place (29.22-29.26)

Eratosthenes considers it likely that Hesiod discovered that Odysseus' wanderings took place near Sicily and Italy, and in this belief mentioned not only Homer's places but Aetna, Ortygia, and Tyrrhenia as well. If Hesiod spoke sense, it seems reasonable to Strabo that Homer did the same. Strabo concludes that the interpreters of Homer and local traditions are able to teach us that these matters are not poetic fictions, but the traces of real persons and events.

In Strabo's opinion Polybius' views on Odysseus' wanderings are correct (30.13 ff.). Polybius finds historical fact behind the masks of Aeolus and Danaus. Homer adds poetic elements to Odysseus' wanderings as he did to the events of the Trojan War, but placed the wanderings in the

²⁹Parthenope was one of the Sirens.

vicinity of Sicily and Italy. Polybius does not agree with Eratosthenes' statement: "You will find the scene of Odysseus' wanderings when you find the cobbler who sewed up the winds in the bag." Polybius identifies Homer's description of Scylla (Od. 12.95-97) with what happens off the Scyllaeen Rock in the hunting of the "galeotae" (swordfish or dogfish):

αὐτοῦ δ' ἰχθυῖα σκόπελον περιμαιώσα
 δελφῖνάς τε κύνας τε, καὶ εἴ ποθι μείζον ἔλῃσι
 κῆτος.

Polybius concludes that one may consider it likely that Odysseus' wanderings took place according to Homer near Sicily, for Homer's Scylla hunts fish as it is still done near Scyllaeum, and Homer's Charybdis behaves like the water of the Strait.³⁰

Polybius also finds that the facts about Meninx³¹ agree with Homer's Lotus-Eaters. Strabo notes that the discrepancies must be attributed to changes accomplished by time, ignorance, or poetic license. The last is made up of history, rhetorical composition, and myth. History aims for the truth, as when Homer in the Catalogue of Ships applies the proper epithet to each place.³² Rhetoric

³⁰ Strabo again brings up the discrepancy between Homer's statements and the tidal movements of the ocean. See above, p. 15.

³¹ Meninx is the island Jerba off the African coast.

³² Strabo mentions the following epithets: "rocky," "at the extreme," "haunt of doves," "by the sea."

strives for vividness, as when Homer introduces men fighting. Myth aims to please and to excite amazement. Homer does not, however, invent stories--this is not Homeric, for the poetry of Homer is philosophically produced. Eratosthenes asks us to ignore the thought of the poems along with their history. Polybius more plausibly interprets Od. 9.82, ἔνθεν δ' ἐννῆμαρ φερόμην ὀλοοῖς ἀνέμοισιν, as applying to a defined area, rather than placing the occurrence out in Oceanus, as if the phrase read, "fair winds constantly blowing." This accords with the distance covered, and to those who object that in touching Sicily three times Odysseus never went through the Strait, Polybius replies that this is also the practice of later navigators.

There are, nevertheless, arguments of Polybius against Homer which Strabo finds inconsistent (33.11 ff.). Polybius denies that Odysseus' journey to Oceanus took place and that the nine day's wandering and the distances covered are exactly measured. Polybius quotes Od. 9.82 (as does Strabo; see above, this page) but at another time suppresses Homer's utterances. Homer also says (Od. 12. 1-2), αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ποταμοῖο λίπεν ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο / νῆυσ; and νήσῳ ἐν Ὠκυγίῃ ὅθι τ' ὀμφαλὸς ἐστὶ θαλάσσης (Od. 1.50), later saying that the daughter of Atlas lived there. Of the Phaeacians Homer says (Od. 6.204-205): οἰκόμεν δ' ἀπάνευθε πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ / ἔσχατοι· οὐ δέ τις ἄμμι

βροτῶν ἐπιμίσγεται ἄλλος. All these events clearly take place in the Atlantic Ocean, but Polybius ruins what Homer has said by suppressing these events. In this way he is wrong, but he is correct in placing Odysseus' wanderings near Sicily and Italy. Homer's statements are confirmed by the geographical terms of the area (Strabo mentions Parthenope, Pyriphlegethon, Acherusian Marsh, oracle of the dead at Lake Avernus, and the oracles at Baius and Misenum, names of Odysseus' companions). Strabo concludes that the stories of Sirenussae, the Strait, Scylla, Charybdis, and Aeolus should neither be minutely scrutinized, nor cast away as having no real basis in truth or history.

Strabo next states that Eratosthenes seems to have had some notion of this, for he conjectures that Homer began to place the story of Odysseus' wanderings in the west, but either lack of information or a desire for more marvels dissuaded him from placing it there. Eratosthenes correctly understands what Homer did but misunderstood his motive. Homer aimed not at empty talk, but at useful service. Therefore, Eratosthenes' first objection and his statement that Homer prefers far away places for marvelous stories (since it is easier to make up things about them), should be submitted to examination. In reality, the scenes of marvelous stories are mainly set near Greece (Strabo lists as examples the labors of Heracles and Theseus, the myths set in Crete, Sicily, and other islands, and in Parnassus,

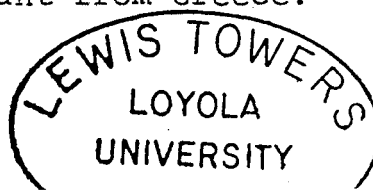
pelion, Attica, and the Peloponnesus). Homer and other poets do not fabricate pure myth but use mythical elements as additions to fact. The person who seeks out the mythical additions of the ancients does not seek the validity of the additions but the truth in fact and history to which the additions have been made. In the case of Odysseus' wanderings we should ask whether they took place and where.

Strabo now passes from the problems in Odysseus' wanderings and spends his efforts in the remainder of Book 1 (34.30-37.5) on the Homeric citations which demonstrate Homer's knowledge in specific geographical matters. Strabo strings together a list of examples to prove Homer's superiority over other poets in geography. He advises that a perusal of Sophocles' Triptolemus or Euripides' prologue to the Bacchae will easily prove Homer's care in geographical matters. When there is need for arrangement of places mentioned, Homer preserves the order, whether the places are in Greece or outside:

Ὅσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὀσση
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον. (Od. 11.315-316)

Ἥρῃ δ' αἵξασα λίπεν ῥέον Οὐλύμποιο,
Περὶν δ' ἐπιβάσα καὶ Ἡμαθίην ἐρατεινὴν
σεύατ' ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων θρηκῶν ὄρεα νιφόμεντα·
ἐξ Ἀθώω δ' ἐπὶ πόντον. (Il. 14.225-228)

In the Catalogue of Ships the places are not mentioned in order since it was not necessary. However, the people are. This is also true of the people distant from Greece:



Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθεὶς
Αἰθίοπας θ' ἰκόμεν καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἑρεμβοὺς
καὶ Λιβύην. (Od. 4.83-85)

On the other hand, Sophocles and Euripides make places far apart seem near.

Strabo also sees Homer's knowledge in his familiarity with the "climata"³³ and winds. The poet often touches upon these subjects when marking out places:

αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτῃ εἶν' ἅλλ' κεῖται
πρὸς ζόφον· αἱ δὲ τ' ἀνευθε πρὸς ἥῳ τ' ἡέλιον τε.³⁴
(Od. 9.25-26)

. . . δὴ δέ τε οἱ θύραι εἰσὶν, . . .
αἱ μὲν πρὸς Βορέαν, . . .
αἱ δ' αὖ πρὸς Νότον. (Od. 13.109-111)

εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἔωσι πρὸς ἥῳ τ' ἡέλιόν τε,
εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά τοι γε ποτὶ ζόφον. (Il. 12.239-240)

Homer considers ignorance in these matters utter confusion:

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ τ' ἔδμεν, ὅπῃ ζόφος, οὐδ' ὅπῃ ἡώς, / οὐδ'
ὅπῃ ἡέλιος (Od. 10.190-191). The poet is also accurate

when he says (Il. 9.5.): Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τῷ τε θρήκηθεν
ἄητον. Eratosthenes incorrectly interprets these words to mean that the west wind blows from Thrace. Strabo counters that Homer is not speaking universally but is referring to the time when the two winds meet in the Gulf of Melas upon

³³By "climata" Strabo means bands of latitude corresponding to the earth's curvature. See Jones 100 note 1 and Aujac-Lasserre 192 note 3.

³⁴In the same way (as explained above, note 33) Strabo interprets these lines as describing, not the topography of Ithaca, but its geographical position. See Jones 101 note 2 and Aujac-Lasserre 192 note 3.

the Thracian Sea, a part of the Aegean. Eratosthenes misses this and charges Homer with ignorance because Thrace does not extend far west. It does not seem that Homer was ignorant of the fact that the west wind blows from the west. He keeps it in its right place when he says (Od. 5. 295-296): σὺν δ' Εὐρώς τε Νότος τε πέσον Ζέφυρος τε δυσ-αῆς / καὶ Βορέης. Strabo further contends that it seems incorrect to deny Homer knowledge of Thrace's westward extent. Homer correctly names the Thracian country and the country next to it, both seacoast and interior. He does not name people beyond those on the Thracian extremities. Homer has a special liking for the sea nearest his home and best-known to him, as when he says (Il. 2.144-145): κινήθη δ' ἀγορὴ ὡς κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης / πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο.

According to Strabo Homer also had knowledge of the winds (37.6-38.2). Some writers claim Boreas and Notus as the principal winds, with the others differing only in a slight variation. To prove this they bring in Homer's testimony: Argestes is assigned to Notus in Il. 11.306, ἀργεστιάο Νότοιο, and Zephyrus to Boreas in Il. 9.5.³⁵ The opponents of this theory say that when Homer speaks of the "blustering Zephyrus" he means what is called the Argestes, that when he speaks of the "clear-blowing Zephyrus" he means Zephyrus, and that Homer's "Argestes Notus" is our

³⁵Il. 9.5 quoted here again by Strabo. See above, p. 34.

Leuconotus. The last named brings few clouds, but Notus is somewhat cloudy: ὥς ὁπότε Ζέφυρος νέφεα στουφελίῃ / ἀργεστιάο Νωτοῖο, βαθείῃ λαίλαπι τύπτων (Il. 11.305-306). Here Homer means the "blustering Zephyrus" which generally scatters Leuconotus' thin clouds. In this passage "Argestes" is applied to Notus as an epithet. Strabo concludes by saying that these are the corrections which must be made to Eratosthenes' remarks at the beginning of the first chapter of his geography.

The next subject of contention between Strabo and Eratosthenes is Homer's knowledge of the Nile River (38.3-38.23). Strabo relates that Eratosthenes denies that Homer knew the Nile had several mouths and that the poet knew the real name of the river. In Homer's time it is unlikely that the name was in use. As for the mouths of the Nile, if the several mouths were known only to a few and were not the best-known and most marvelous thing in Egypt, and the most worthy of mention and historical record--like its inundations--perhaps Homer did not hear of it. However, since Homer heard of the Aegyptus River and the country Aegyptus, and Egyptian Thebes and Pharos, it only seems reasonable that he heard of the Nile as well. It must also be true that, since Homer knew of Ethiopia, the Sidonians, the Erembians, and the Atlantic (and the Ethiopians divided in two), Homer knew what was nearby and well known. That Homer does not mention everything (as, for example, his

home town) is another indication that he thought the best known facts were not worth mentioning to those who already knew them.

Strabo also thinks that Homer is unjustly reproached for his statement that the island of Pharos (38.24-39.10), is "out in sea." Strabo claims that these objections might be used to prove that the "supposed" lapses in Homer's knowledge of Egypt are false. The geographer argues in the following way: Whoever tells about his own journeys is a braggart. Menelaus belongs to this group. He also knew of the Nile's characteristics. He had heard that in ancient times Pharos had been in the open sea. He falsely stated that even in his own time it was in the open sea. Homer made this story up, and we may, therefore, guess that he knew about the inundations of the river and its mouths.

The next problem in Homeric interpretation concerns the poet's acquaintance with the isthmus between the Egyptian Sea (that is, the Mediterranean near Egypt) and the Arabian Gulf, and the "Ethiopians divided in two at the edge of mankind" in Od. 1.23 (39.11 ff.). Homer's knowledge of the former is called incorrect by men of later times. Strabo contends that Homer not only knew of the isthmus but clearly describes it. The grammarians (beginning with Aristarchus and Crates) do not see that Homer speaks of it. Strabo then quotes Od. 1.23 (see above, p. 13) and notes that the next verse is disputed: οἱ μὲν δυσομένου

ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος (Aristarchus' version of Od. 1.24); ἡμὲν δυσσομένου Ὑπερίονος, ἡ δ' ἀνιόντος (Crates' version). Either version fits the question at issue. Crates gives an astronomical explanation, arguing that the two Ethiopians inhabit extremes on Oceanus and that Homer adds Od. 1.24³⁶ because the entire revolution of the sun takes place within this zone. In Strabo's opinion Crates might have argued more simply and still have preserved Homer's Ethiopians divided in two. He could have said that the Ethiopians inhabit both shores of Oceanus from the rising of the sun to its setting. Aristarchus' version³⁷ is understandable in the same way. Yet, Aristarchus rejects Crates' hypothesis, thinking that the Ethiopians are the people in Strabo's part of the world, that is, those most remote to the Greeks in the south. They are not two peoples but just one situated next to Egypt. Homer was ignorant of this in Aristarchus' opinion, as he was of other matters which Apollodorus mentioned in the second book of On the Catalogue of Ships.

Strabo refuses to reply to Crates because it would be long and irrelevant (40.32 ff.). Aristarchus, however, is praised by Strabo for inclining to the view that Homer is referring to the Ethiopia of Strabo's time. Strabo thinks

³⁶Crates' version is here quoted again.

³⁷Aristarchus' version is here quoted again. See above, pp. 37-38.

that for this reason he deserves examination on other points. Aristarchus' discussion of the text is petty and fruitless according to the geographer. It makes no difference whether we say, "On our side of Oceanus there are two groups of Ethiopians, some in the east and some in the west," or, "both in the east and west." Aristarchus also supports a false doctrine. Let us take for granted that Homer is ignorant of the isthmus. Is he referring to the Ethiopia on the borders of Egypt when he says, Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ δὲχθὰ δεδαάταται (Od. 1.23)? They are still divided in two. Did Homer make this statement in ignorance? Egypt and the Egyptians are divided by the Nile River, οἱ μὲν δυσσομένου ὑπερλόνοσ, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντοσ (Od. 1.24). Egypt is merely a river valley which the water floods. Ethiopia has the same characteristics and is, therefore, divided in two. If the Nile was important enough to serve as a boundary between Libya and Egypt, it must also have been important enough to divide Ethiopia in two. Since early explorers did not think the Atlantic was one unbroken body of water, it seems likely that Homer also was misled, making Ethiopia into two sections, east and west, with the territory in between unknown. According to Strabo Ephorus reports an ancient tradition which Homer was also acquainted with. The Tartessians report that the Ethiopians overran Libya to Dyris (the Atlas Mountains). Some of them stayed there, others occupied a

great portion of the seaboard. Ephorus guesses that it was for this reason that Homer spoke as he did on Od. 1.23.³⁸

Strabo notes next that these arguments can be successfully used against Aristarchus and his followers, in order to clear Homer of the charge of ignorance. Strabo asserts that in accordance with the ancient Greeks, who joined inhabitants of known countries under a single name,³⁹ Homer considers all the countries of the south which lie on Oceanus to be called Ethiopia. Strabo supports this with evidence from Aeschylus and Euripides.

According to Strabo Ephorus too seems to have something of this kind in mind (43.29 ff.). He claims that the Ethiopians stretch from the winter sunrise to sunset, and that Scythia lies directly opposite in the north. Homer agrees with this view as is evident from his statement that Ithaca lies πρὸς ζόφον αἱ δὲ τ' ἀνευθε πρὸς ἥῳ τ' ἡέλιόν τε (Od. 9.26). By the "others" Homer means the whole country on the southern side. This is again clear when Homer says:

εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἥῳ τ' ἡέλιόν τε,
εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἡερόεντα (Il. 12.
239-240);

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ τ' ἴδμεν, ὅπη ζόφος, οὐδ' ὅπη ἥως,
οὐδ' ὅπη ἡέλιος φαεσίμβροτος εἴσ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν,
οὐδ' ὅπη ἀννεῖται. (Od. 10.190-192)

Therefore, when Homer says (Il. 1.423-424), Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς

³⁸The line is quoted again. See above, p. 13.

³⁹Strabo says that the people of the north were called Scythians or Nomads, the people of the west Celts and Iberians.

Ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας / χθιζὸς ἔβη, Strabo asserts that we must understand the words in a general sense--Oceanus as the body of water stretching along the south, the Ethiopians indicating the people along that body. So also must these words be understood (Od. 5.282-283): τὸν δ' ἐξ Αἰθιοπῶν ἀνιῶν / τηλόθεν ἐκ Σολύμων ὁρέων ἴδεν. This is the same as saying, "from the places in the south." So also must Homer's statement about the cranes be interpreted in general terms:

αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,
κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῦ ῥοάων,
ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι. (Il. 3.4-6)

The crane does not migrate south in Greece only. Since the cranes migrate to the entire coast of Oceanus in the south, it must be true that the Pygmies are located along that entire coast to agree with the dictates of the myth. Though later writers restrict the Pygmies to the Ethiopians next to Egypt, this has no bearing on ancient conditions. We no longer, says Strabo, call those who went on the expedition to Troy "Achaeans" or "Argives" as Homer did.

Strabo considers the problem involving the Ethiopians similar. "Ethiopians" must mean the people along the whole coast of Oceanus. These Ethiopians are naturally divided in two by the Arabian Gulf. Just as Asia and Libya are divided by this gulf, so also did Homer consider the southern regions throughout the inhabited world to be divided in two by this gulf. Therefore, Homer must have known the

isthmus which the gulf forms with the Egyptian Sea.

In the next section (46.3-46.30) Strabo continues his defense of Homer's knowledge of Egypt. The geographer finds it extremely unreasonable that Homer knew of Thebes (four thousand stadia from the Mediterranean) but was ignorant of the isthmus (one thousand stadia from the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf). It is even more unreasonable that Homer knew the Nile had the same name as the country Aegyptus and yet did not perceive that the country depended upon the river and for that reason took its name from it. The peculiar characteristics of the Nile are the facts most told by the natives and are also the facts most probably told at a distance from the country. Besides, Homer was fond of knowledge and travel, and many indications of this are found in the poems. For this reason Strabo asserts that he has proved Homer knows and says what must be said, passes over what is too obvious, or speaks of it in an epithet.

At 46.31 ff. Strabo's defense continues. The Egyptians and the Syrians are accused of ignorance: they do not understand Homer even when Homer is speaking of their own countries. The poet's silence is no sign of ignorance. Many well-known things are not mentioned by Homer (Strabo notes the currents of Euripus and Thermopylae), though he surely knew of them. Homer also speaks of things well-known, which only the deliberately deaf do not recognize

(and, therefore, the fault, if ignorance, is theirs). Homer calls rivers "heaven-fed" (winter torrents and rivers alike according to Strabo), because they are replenished by rain. The epithet becomes particular when applied to a thing in relation to what makes it outstanding. "Heaven-fed" is hyperbolic when applied to the Nile, for the Nile not only is equal to the extent of the winter torrent but even passes it in duration. Since the Nile's character was known to Homer, we must interpret the epithet as we have done. The poet did not consider the many mouths of the Nile a unique feature of the Nile because it is a characteristic of other rivers and it was known to the people he was addressing. The Nile's silting may be inferred not only from Homer's mention of the risings of the river but also from what he says about Pharos. It makes no sense that the report of Pharos' distance from the mainland had been falsified so much that Homer received incorrect information, for he makes it a day's sail from the mainland. It is more likely that from facts about the rising and silting Homer concluded that in Menelaus' time the island was farther away. Homer elaborates the distance even more for the sake of mythologizing. Moreover, fabulous stories (Strabo mentions Proteus, the Pygmies, magic potions) are not signs of ignorance of geography, but are told to give pleasure and enjoyment. How, then, does Homer say that Pharos has water when it does not: ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὖορμος, ὄθεν τ' ἀπὸ νῆας

έῖσας / ἐς πόντον βάλλουσιν ἀφυσσάμενοι μέλαν ὕδωρ (Od. 4. 358-359)? Strabo explains that either the water has dried up or that it may have been drawn from the mainland. Homer does not specify where the water was obtained and in a way admits by his use of "in the open sea" to describe Pharos that he was exaggerating or myth-making.

Strabo's next topic is the wanderings of Menelaus (48.21 ff.). Since they have been brought forth as proof of Homer's ignorance, Strabo proposes to make a preliminary statement of the questions and then to distinguish the questions in order, so that he might speak more expressly in Homer's defense. Menelaus says to Telemachus:

. . . ἧ γὰρ πολλὰ παθὼν, καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθεὶς
 ἡγαγόμεν ἐν νηυσὶ, καὶ ὀγδοάτῳ ἔτει ἦλθον,
 Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθεὶς,
 Αἰθιοπὰς θ' ἰκόμεν καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἑρεμβοὺς
 καὶ Λιβύην. (Od. 4.81-85)

From these verses Strabo formulates three questions: Who are the Ethiopians? Who are the Sidonians? Who are the Erembians? Strabo follows with what he calls brief answers to each.

Three theories are introduced by the geographer to explain the identity of Menelaus' Ethiopians. Some propose a voyage by Gades up to India, making Menelaus' wanderings correspond exactly to the time given by Homer: ὀγδοάτῳ ἔτει ἦλθον (Od. 4.82). Others say that he sailed across the isthmus at the head of the Arabian Gulf. Still others claim

that he sailed through one of the Nile's channels. The first is unnecessary: Menelaus was slowed because of difficulties in sailing and deliberate stops for business purposes. Nestor says (Od. 3.301-302): ὥς ὁ μὲν ἔνθα πολὺν βλοτον καὶ χρυσὸν ἀγέλρων / ἤλατο ξὺν νηυσί. Menelaus adds that he roamed over Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Egypt.⁴⁰ The voyage through the isthmus or one of the channels is not mentioned by Homer and would be considered fiction if it were mentioned. It would be ridiculous and inane to mention such a voyage. Strabo follows with more proof.

No canal was in existence before the Trojan War, nor was the isthmus navigable. Eratosthenes wrongly conjectures that, since no break had taken place in the Pillars of Hercules and since the water of the Mediterranean was, consequently, higher, the isthmus was covered with water. Strabo replies that there is no historical evidence for this theory. Homer also has Odysseus sailing from Egypt to the Red Sea (as though a channel through the Pillars both did and did not exist!). Proteus says to Menelaus (Od. 4.563-564): ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης / ἀθάνατοι πέμπουσιν. The end of the earth in this case must mean the far west because of the mention of Zephyrus (Od. 4.567-568): ἀλλ' αἶετ Ζεφύροιο λιγυρὸν πνέοντος ἀήτας / Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίησι. Strabo remarks that these things are full of puz-

⁴⁰ Od. 4.83 is quoted here. See above, p. 44.

zles and passes on to further discussion of the problem.

Strabo asks: If Homer heard that the isthmus was submerged, does that not make it all the more reasonable that the Ethiopians were divided in two by such a great strait (50.17 ff.)? How also did Menelaus get treasures from the Ethiopians along Oceanus? In Menelaus' palace was a great quantity χρυσοῦ τ' ἡλέκτρου τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἥδ' ἐλέφαντος (Od. 4.73). Except for ivory these people have none of the things mentioned. In fact they are very poor. People contend that Arabia and India belonged to them, but Homer did not know of India, for he surely would have mentioned it if he had known of it. The poet did know of "Blessed" Arabia, but that country was poor in Homer's time. Menelaus was more likely to get profit from those who had heard of the Trojan War and the sons of Atreus, namely, the Egyptians, Ethiopians, and neighboring Arabians. Homer also says the following about Agamemnon's breastplate (Il. 11. 20-21): τὸν ποτὲ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινήιον εἶναι. / πεύθετο γὰρ Κύπρονδε μέγα κλέος. What is more likely, then, is that Menelaus wandered in the area of Cyprus and more generally along the Mediterranean coast. When Homer says that Menelaus "came to" Ethiopia, he means Menelaus reached the Ethiopian frontier near Egyptian Thebes (Od. 4.126). It seems reasonable that while enjoying himself at Thebes Menelaus would go as far as the Egyptian-Ethiopian border (in Strabo's time

Thebes was near the border). In the same way Odysseus "came to" the Cyclopes, for he came as far as the cave on the sea which lay "at the edge" of the country (Od. 9.182). So also in the case of Aeolus and the Laestrygonians (and wherever he came to anchor, according to Strabo), he came to the country's border. Strabo concludes that it was in this way that Menelaus touched at places.

Strabo's next problem concerns the Sidonians (52. 13 ff.). According to the geographer, when Homer mentions the Sidonians with the Phoenicians, he is using a familiar figure of speech, as when he says (Il. 13.1): Τρωάς τε καὶ Ἑκτορα νηυσὶ πέλασσε; and οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος υἱέες ἦσαν, / οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἦν, θάνε δὲ Ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος (Il. 2.641-642); and Ἴδην δ' ἔκλεπεν . . . Γάργαρον (Il. 8.47); and οἳ δ' Εὐβοίαν ἔχον . . . Χαλκίδα τ' Εἰρέτριάν τε (Il. 2.536). But Homer had another reason for repeating Phoenicia with Sidon added. To list the people in proper order it is enough to say: Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖς / Αἰθιοπὰς θ' ἰκόμεν (Od. 4.83-84). Homer, however, suggests the duration of Menelaus' visit among the Sidonians by repeating as he did. By praise of their skills and of the hospitality offered Helen and Paris Homer further suggests the long duration of the visit. This is why Homer speaks of the Sidonians' treasures stored in Paris' house (Il. 6.289-292):

ἐνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν
 Σιδονίων, ἃς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς
 ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν . . .
 τὴν ὁδὸν, ἣν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγε.

The treasures are also found in Menelaus' house. He says to Telemachus (Od. 4.615-619):

δώσω τοι κρητῆρα τετυγμένον· ἀργύρεος δὲ
 ἔστιν ἅπας, χρυσῷ δ' ἐπὶ χεῖλεα κεκράνται·
 ἔργον δ' Ἡφαίστοιο· πόρεν δέ ἐ Φαίδιμος ἦρωσ
 Σιδονίων βασιλεύς, ὃθ' ἐδὸς δόμος ἀμφεκάλυψε
 κεῖσέ με νοστήσαντα.

Strabo remarks that the "work of Hephaestus" must be an exaggeration. Homer makes it clear that the Sidonians were makers of beautiful works of art. He praises the bowl Euneos gave as ransom to Lycaon (Il. 23.742-744):

. . . κάλλει ἐνίκα πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν
 πολλόν· ἐπεὶ Σιδόνες πολυδαίδαλα εὖ ἥσκησαν,
 Φοίνικες δ' ἄγον ἄνδρες.

The Erembians are Strabo's next problem in identification (53.16 ff.). He states that the most likely solution to the problem is that they should be identified as Arabians. Zeno emends Od. 4.84 to "Αραβάς τε,"⁴¹ but Strabo denies that it is necessary to change such an old reading. The more likely explanation is that through a change in name the Erembians became Arabians. Most people derive "Erembians" from τὴν ἔραν ἐμβαλνον. "Erembian" was later changed to Troglodyte (cave dweller). The Troglodytes are the Arabians who live on the Arabian Gulf next to Egypt and Ethiopia. Consequently, it was likely that Homer would

⁴¹The emended line is quoted. See above, p. 44.

mention the Erebbians and say that Menelaus "came to" them as he did to the Ethiopians. On account of his long stay there, however, they are mentioned. It was a famous thing to have travelled so far. This explains Od. 1.3⁴² and Od. 4.81-82: ἦ γὰρ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθεῖς / ἡγαγόμεν. Therefore, Strabo concludes that Arabia was so named in Hesiod's time but not yet in the times of the heroes.

From 54.32-60.24 Strabo argues on several topics in defense of Homer, mainly on the poet's knowledge of Jason's voyage. The geographer begins with criticism of those people who confuse myth and history in interpreting Homer's Sidonians and other matters. Apollodorus incorrectly compares stories from Hesiod and others with stories in Homer. Apollodorus claims that Homer inadvertently spoke what was true about Egypt and Pontus. Strabo argues that neither Hesiod nor Homer can be charged with ignorance when relating myths. Myth must be carefully distinguished from fact.

Another subject about which Homer speaks under the guise of myth according to Strabo is the behavior of Oceanus (56.8 ff.). Charybdis is borrowed from the movement of the tides. She is not entirely Homer's invention, for the poet borrowed from what he heard about the Strait of Sicily. Strabo again quotes Od. 12.105⁴³ and states that Homer does

⁴²Od. 1.3 quoted here again. See above, p. 18, but read ἔγνων for γνῶναι.

⁴³This verse quoted here again. See above, p. 15.

affirm three movements in a day, though there are actually only two. We must not, however, attribute this to ignorance. Rather, for tragic effect and to create fear Circe mingled the false with the true. At any rate, Circe says (Od. 12.105-107):

τρῖς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίσχουσιν ἐπ' ἡματι, τρῖς δ' ἀναροιβδεῖ
δεινόν· μὴ σὺ γε κεῖθι τύχοις, ὅτε ροιβδήσεις·
οὐ γὰρ κεν ῥύσαιτο σ' ὑπὲν κακοῦ οὐδ' ἔνοσίχθων.

Yet, Odysseus survived and says to himself (Od. 12.431-433):

ἡ μὲν ἀνεροίβδησε θαλάσσης ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ, ποτὶ μακρὸν ἐρινεὸν ὑψόσ' ἀερθεῖς,
τῷ προσφῶς ἐχόμην, ὥς νυκτερίς.

Odysseus survived by hanging on to the wreckage of his raft. Circe had lied, and so we can understand why she said thrice instead of twice. Moreover, everybody uses hyperbole, for example, "thrice blessed" and "thrice cursed," and Homer himself says *τρισμακάρες Δαναοί* (Od. 5.306), *ἀσπασίη τρίλιστος* (Il. 8.488), and *τριχθαῖ τε καὶ τετραχθαῖ* (Il. 3.363). Perhaps Homer is also hinting at the truth (that is, two movements a day) when he has Odysseus wait so long for the wreckage to return from the whirlpool:

νωλεμέως δ' ἐχόμην, ὅφρ' ἐξεμέσειεν ὀπίσω
ἱστὸν καὶ τρόπιν αὔτις, ἐελδομένῳ δέ μοι ἦλθον
ὄψ'· ἦμος δ' ἐπὶ δόρπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορήθεν ἀνέστη,
κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ δικαζομένων αἰζήων,
καὶ τότε δὴ μοι δοῦρα χαρύβδιος ἐξεφαάνθη. (Od. 12.437-441)

Homer also prolongs the time of the evening, not only saying "when the judge rises," but also adding "arbiter of

many quarrels." It also would be impossible for Odysseus to escape from the whirlpool if each time he was thrown back by a third tide. Thus does Strabo conclude.

Apollodorus' objections (57.22 ff.) to Callimachus' theories (an island near Sicily is the site of Odysseus' wanderings) are in agreement with Eratosthenes' thought. Odysseus' wanderings were truly placed in Oceanus by Homer, but according to Strabo Apollodorus does not correct Callimachus or tell us the location of the wanderings. Strabo concludes that the wanderings of Odysseus cannot be completely fictitious, and since no place else has been reasonably pointed out, Callimachus' conjectures may be accepted.

At 58.3 ff. Strabo defends Homer against the objections of Demetrius of Scepsis and others. Demetrius refuses to acknowledge that Homer knew of Jason's voyage to Phasis. That this statement is false is not only proved by Homer's statements but also by Demetrius himself. Demetrius says that Achilles sacked Lesbos and other places, but spared Lemnos and the islands near it because of his kinship with Jason and Jason's son Euneos, who then held Lemnos. Since Homer knew that Achilles and Jason were acquainted in some way (for Homer must have known that they were both Thessalians), he must also have known why Jason had not left a successor in Thessaly and why he made his son ruler of Lemnos. Since Homer knew of Pelias, the daugh-

ters of Pelias, Alcestis, and her son Εὐμηλον, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀδμήτῳ τέκε δῖα γυναικῶν / Ἀλκηστις, Πελῖας θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη (Il. 2.714-715), he must have as well known of Jason, the Argo, and the Argonauts. Homer could not have invented the story of the journey from Aeetes' country and placed it in Oceanus while not having any foundation in history for his story (Od. 12.69-70).

Strabo continues: Like Odysseus' and Menelaus' wanderings, Jason's are founded in fact and can be proved by things still in existence in the time of the geographer. After some examples of evidence are given, Strabo discusses Homer's statements concerning their historical and mythical elements (60.4 ff.). The poet is historically correct when he names "Aeetes" (Od. 12.70), when he tells of Jason and the Argo, when with Aea in mind he makes up Aeaea (Od. 11.70 and 12.3), when he locates Euneos in Lemnos, when he makes Lemnos beloved of Achilles, and when with Medea in mind he makes the sorceress Circe, αὐτοκασσιγνήτην ὁλοόφρονος Αἰήταο (Od. 10.137). The transfer to Oceanus of the wanderings from Aeetes' country is mythical. If everything we have mentioned is true (according to Strabo), then Od. 12.70, Ἀργὼ πασιμέλουσα, is correct, for everything in the expedition took place in the well-known and populous regions. If the wanderings took place in Oceanus, they would not be in all men's minds. Thus concludes Strabo's investigation into Jason's wanderings.

In the remainder of Book 1 Homer is cited in four scattered passages. At 62.19 Strabo cites the poet on Odysseus' and Menelaus' wanderings to prove that long voyages were actually made in ancient times. Homer is next quoted (69.19 ff.) on the Pyramus River in Cilicia and its great silting. Strabo notes that the earth is not washed out to sea, because the ocean has a refluent action--close upon the wave follows a gentle wash which pushes matter up on the shore, and πολλὸν δὲ παρὲς ἄλα φύκος ἔχουσιν (Il. 9.7). This action continues even when there is wind. This is what Homer means when he says: . . . ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας / κυρτὸν ἔδον κορυφοῦται, ἀποπτύει δ' ἄλδος ἄχνην (Il. 4.425); and ἡϊόνες βοόωσιν ἐρευγομένης ἄλδος ἔξω (Il. 17.265). At 76.13 Strabo quotes Il. 22.147-149 and 151:

κρουνῶ δ' ἱκανὸν καλλιρρόω, ἔνθα τε πηγαὶ
δοιαὶ ἀναΐσσουσι Σκαμάνδρου δινῆεντος·
ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ, . . .
ἡ δ' ἐτέρῃ θέρεϊ προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ.

He explains that Demetrius mentions these verses to demonstrate that certain natural phenomena occur, but he does not discuss the present condition of the place.

The final citations occur in a discussion of Leucas and certain changes between ancient times and Strabo's own day (77.13 ff.). Leucas was originally a headland. Laertes is said to speak of Leucas when he says (Od. 24.377-378): οἷος Νήρικον εἶλον ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον / ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο. Arne and Mideia have been swallowed up by Lake Copais.

They are mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships: οἱ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην ἔχον, οἱ τε Μίδειαν (Il. 2.507). Asteria (called Asteris by Homer according to Strabo) has also changed:

ἔστι δὲ τις νῆσος μέσση ἀλλ' πετρήεσσα,
Ἄστερις, οὐ μεγάλη, λιμένες δ' ἐνὶ ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ
ἀμφίδυμοι. (Od. 4.844-846)

It was in Strabo's time not even good anchorage. Finally, there is no grotto of Nymphys in Ithaca as Homer describes. Strabo concludes that this must be due to natural changes rather than the ignorance of Homer.

In Book 2 four Homeric citations are found. In the first (110, foot of page) Strabo quotes Od. 9.291 to illustrate a proper amputation: τὸν δὲ διὰ μελεῖν τε ταμῶν. This operation is likened to the proper division of geographical areas. At 135.29 Posidonius' quote on the disappearance of Atlantis by earthquake is cited. Posidonius attributes it to a natural cause, rather than saying of Atlantis, "Its inventor made it disappear, just as the poet did the Achaean wall (Solon speaking)." That is to say, Solon had the island sink so that he would not have to consider further implications.

Beginning at 136.29 Strabo quotes Posidonius' Homeric verse (Od. 1.24; see above, p. 38) to illustrate that Posidonius' division of the world into three continents also explains Homer's Ethiopians divided in two. Posidonius,

however, rejects Crates' hypothesis that there is a second inhabited world unknown to Homer and suggests that Homer be emended to οἱ μὲν δυσσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος. Strabo denies Homer divided the Ethiopians because the Indians were similar; Homer probably knew nothing about the Indians.

The final citation of Book 2 occurs at 148.14, where Strabo speaks of the northern and southern hemispheres, and notes they are divided in two, μέσσω γὰρ μεγάλοι ποταμοί, / Ὠκεανὸς μὲν πρῶτα (Od. 11.157-158).

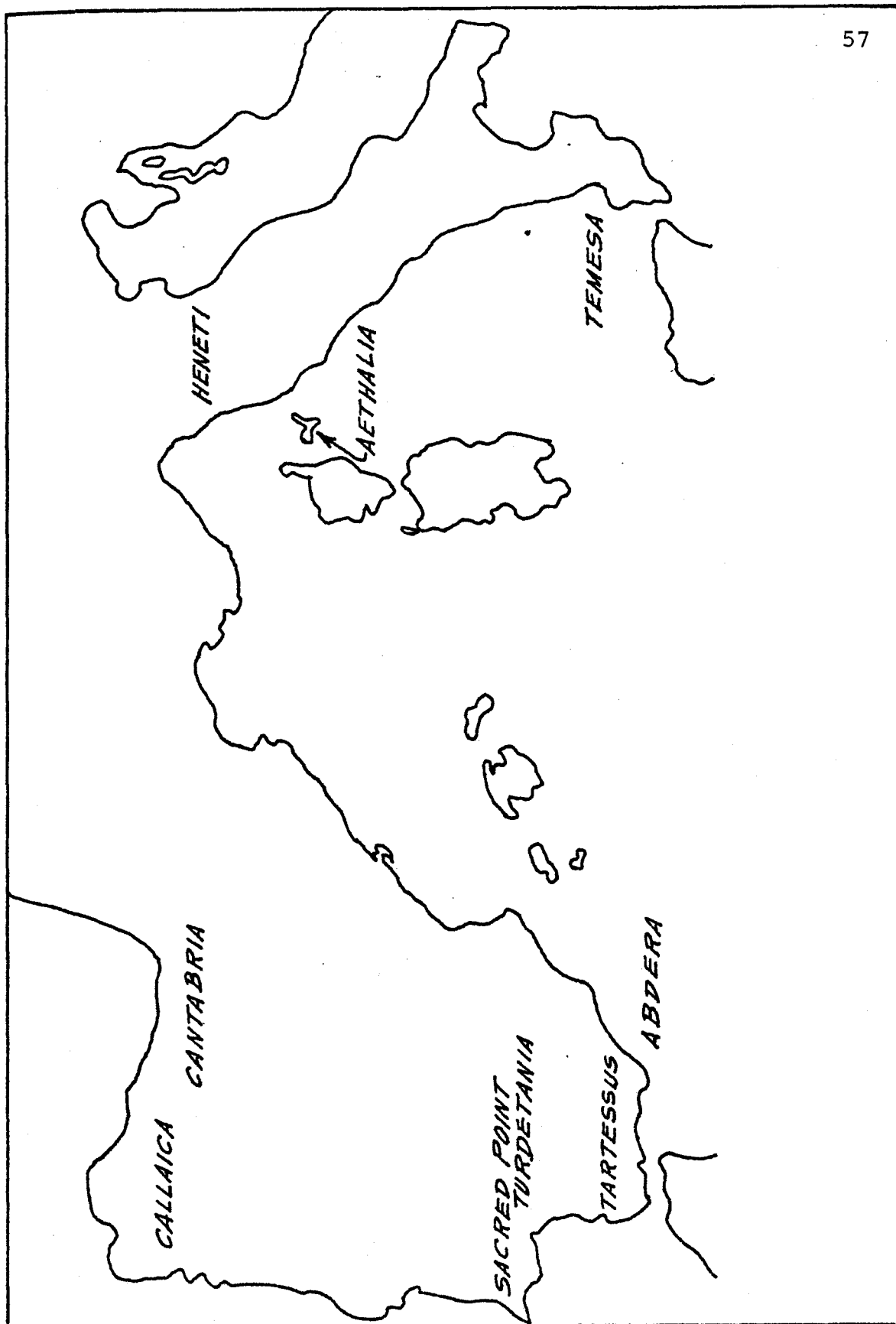
In Books 1 and 2 Strabo reveals the principles on which his Geography is based: it is intended to be a useful guide for liberally educated men especially for men of high position. This is in accord with the Stoic philosophy of the ideal of the wise man, and of practicality in the social order. As we have already noted, Strabo has been criticized for his long digressions in defense of Homer in these opening sections of his work. Though Strabo often reduces himself to "silly rationalism,"⁴⁴ his interest in Homer is not entirely irrelevant. It has been a commonplace that one reason for Strabo's obsession with Homer is the influence of Stoic philosophy.⁴⁵ The connection is obvious in the geographer's

⁴⁴Thomson 23.

⁴⁵Tozer 256, for example, says that " . . . excessive devotion to Homer had become one of the tenets of that sect."

concern with the wise man as poet and in his assertion that geography must be of service to society, especially through its rulers and commanders. Homer provides lessons in geography for the liberally educated man--lessons of fact (the ocean, the spheroidal shape of the earth, the arctic circle, the winds), and lessons of history (the wanderings of Odysseus, Jason, and Menelaus). In this way Homer is an invaluable source for Strabo's Geography and as such must be defended against critics. Strabo's varied use of Homer is perhaps best seen in the citations outside the long defense of Homer (see above, pp. 53-54). The poet provides the timeless truths that the ocean has a "refluent" action and that the hemispheres are separated by the ocean. Homer also proves in ancient times long voyages were made. Strabo also cites Homer to illustrate the correct division of a country into parts.

As for the geographer's dependence on his predecessors, Book 1 provides constant proof that Strabo considered various interpretations of Homer in making his own decision. It is also clear from the geographer's emphasis on Homer's cloaking fact in myth (and his disapproval of those who would take Homer literally) that Strabo does not accept everything Homer says.



CHAPTER III

BOOKS 3-7: EUROPE OUTSIDE GREECE

In Books 3-17 Strabo takes us in the northern Mediterranean from Spain to Asia Minor and back in the south to North Africa through Egypt. He calls this ὁ ἐφεξῆς λόγος περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστα, that is, the detailed account of the parts of the world promised at the end of Book 1. It begins in Books 3-7 with a broad sweep through the northwestern Mediterranean: Book 3 on Spain and the adjacent islands; Book 4 on Gaul, Britain, and the Alps; Books 5 and 6 a description of Italy and the Italian islands; Book 7 on northern Europe. This treatment is typical of Strabo's Geography and "is marked at once by the chief merits as well as the chief defects that characterize his work in general."⁴⁶ The merits lie in Strabo's acquaintance with the main features of the area and his "correct appreciation of the manner in which those features determine the character and conformation of its different regions."⁴⁷ Strabo's defects are obvious in his mistakes in measurement and relations between countries and other

⁴⁶ Bunbury 239.

⁴⁷ Bunbury 240.

geographical elements. On occasion Strabo simply admits his ignorance. A modern critic's attack on Strabo's concept of northern Europe is typical of more extreme positions:

Of geography he makes a startling mess, because after Polybius he rejects every word of Pytheas and his high latitudes. He places a vague Ireland north of Britain and near the line of the uninhabitable cold, which he pulls far down. He flattens Britain to suit, making the southern side actually the longest and drawing it parallel to the misconceived straight coast of Gaul.⁴⁸

The characteristic defects and merits of the section may also be attributed to the variety of sources employed. They include books, eyewitnesses, and the geographer's first-hand experience. Homeric citations are found in twelve passages exclusive of the fragments of Book 7. They provide a manageable start in the geography proper for our investigation into Homeric citations.

In Book 3, after some general comments on Iberia, Strabo gives details of the south between the Pillars of Hercules and the Sacred Point (188.7-205.4), the west beyond the Sacred Point (205.5-211.25), the east beyond the Pillars (211.26-227.17), and the islands next to Iberia (227.18-239.28). Strabo had not firsthand knowledge of these regions but relied mainly upon the works of Polybius, Artemidorus, and Posidonius. The Homeric citations have been traced to Posidonius (Bidder, pp.6-7).

Strabo first mentions Homer in Book 3 while describing

⁴⁸Thomson 194.

southern Iberia. He speaks of the many blessings of the south in comparison with the northern section and finds the south's natural richness in metals the most admirable feature of the area (197.3 ff.). Within the district Turdetania's wealth is even more conspicuous:

Turdetania and the land by it leave no account that can adequately describe it to those who want to praise them. Nowhere in the world has either gold or silver or bronze or iron been found up to now in natural state in such quantity or quality. (197.10-15)

Strabo then details the methods employed to mine the different metals and cites as authorities Posidonius (198.17-199.25) and Polybius (199.26-200.13). Strabo does not accept their opinions in an entirely uncritical manner. Polybius furnishes certain details on the processing of silver, but Strabo avoids the description of the entire process because it is too long. Posidonius also comes under criticism for his enthusiastic acceptance of ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, and his rhetorical manner which Strabo jokingly describes ὥς ἄν ἐκ μετάλλου καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῷ χρωμένος τῷ λόγῳ. Strabo next mentions, in association with the Turdetanians, the Baetis River (200.14 ff.) and some of the geographical features associated with it. Certain opinions of Eratosthenes on the naming of Calpe and Erytheia (200.30 ff.) are introduced and rejected. This mention of Eratosthenes leads to a defense of Homer's knowledge of the western Mediterranean. Many of the themes should be familiar.

Strabo argues (201.10-204.4) that Homer's knowledge of Iberia's wealth can be proved in two ways, a better argument and an inferior. The inferior argument claims that Homer knew of Tartessus by hearsay. The poet says (Il. 8. 485-486) λαμπρὸν φάος ἠέλλοιο, / ἔλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν, falls into Oceanus. Night is evil and associated with Tartarus; Tartarus is a Homeric variation of Tartessus. Other poetic variations of this kind are then cited: the Cimmerians are placed near Hades because they live in a gloomy place; the Planctae are based upon the Pillars of Hercules and the Strait of Sicily. The better argument states that Homer knew of the western Mediterranean through the Phoenicians who had travelled there. That these wanderings to the west took place, Strabo gives as evidence the external signs in the regions of Italy, Sicily, and Iberia (202.18 ff.). The Trojans wandered because they were without a home, the Greeks because αἰσχροὶ τοι δηρὸν τε μένειν κενεὸν τε νέεσθαι (Il. 2.298). As further proof that Homer altered a fact in poetic fashion, Strabo cites the placement of the home of the blessed in Iberia (Menelaus addressed by Proteus):

ἀλλὰ σ' ἔσ' Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
 ἀθάνατοι πέμπουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθυς·
 τῇ περ ῥηίστη βιοτῇ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν·
 οὐ νιφετὸς οὔτ' ἄρ' χειμὼν πολὺς οὔδ' ὄμβρος,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο λιγυῖ πνεύοντος αἴητας
 Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους. (Od. 4.563-568)

Rhadamanthys suggests Minos about whom Homer states: ἔνθ'

ἦτοι Μίνωα ἕδον Διὸς ἀγλαὸν υἱόν, / χρύσειον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα, θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσσι (Od. 11.568-569). Thus Strabo argues that Homer was informed by the Phoenicians of Iberia's wealth and concludes the description of the Turdetanians with more evidence provided by Anacreon and Herodotus (204.4-14), and some comments on the area's present Romanization (204.15-205.4).

In his description of Spain east of the Pillars of Hercules Strabo mentions the city of Odysseia and the temple of Athene as evidence that nearby Abdera was founded by the Phoenicians (212.24 ff.). He also cites the following as proof (212.30-213.19):

- (1) Shields and ships' beaks had been nailed up in the temple as memorials to Odysseus' wanderings.
- (2) Callaica was once inhabited by those who had made the voyage with Teucer, and it had formerly been two cities, Hellenes and Amphiloichi.
- (3) Some of the companions of Heracles and of the emigrants from Messene colonized Iberia.
- (4) Cantabria was partially seized by the Laconians.
- (5) Opsicella was founded by Ocelas who accompanied Antenor to Italy.
- (6) Certain people who live beyond Maurusia are called Lotus-Eaters.
- (7) Another group who live on one of the islands of the Lesser Syrtis are also known as Lotus-Eaters.

Strabo goes on to say that it is not surprising that Homer based his fiction on fact and set most of the stories of Odysseus' wanderings outside the Pillars of Hercules in the Atlantic Ocean. Nor should it be surprising that people have attempted to use Homer's poetry in their scientific investigations, as Crates, Mallos, and others have done. Strabo severely criticizes those who have excluded Homer from πείσης τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστήμης as if he were "a digger of ditches or harvester of crops." The cause of the ignorance of these men is that they have not troubled to take into account Homer's poetical alteration of fact. Strabo then cuts the argument short and gives a brief history of the natural lack of unity among the Iberian peoples from the time of the wandering Greeks after Troy to the take-over by the Romans (214.13-215.2).

The situation in this later passage of Book 3 is similar to the Homeric citations in the description of Turdetania's wealth. Strabo again comes strongly--here, even vehemently--to Homer's defense, for the geographer needs the evidence the poet supplies to prove the lack of unity among the Iberians in early times, the wandering of the Greeks, and the success of the Greeks in Iberia owing to the lack of unity in the country. The connection comes clear in the repetition of the key word πλάνη in 213.21 and 214.13. Behind Homer's poetry lies fact.

No Homeric citations are found in Book 4 (Gaul,

Britain, the Alps), but in Books 5 and 6 (Italy and adjoining islands) there are seven scattered occurrences. The first (290.22 ff.) is a quotation in support of the contention that the Heneti, a tribe of Cispadana, were originally escapees from Troy with Antenor. As proof people cite the tribe's former devotion to the breeding of horses-- a fact which Homer also recalls in Il. 2.852: ἔξ Ἑνετῶν, ὄθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτερῶν.

In 302.22-304.3 Strabo traces the ancestry of the elusive Pelasgians. Caere was said to have been founded by them (302.11), and Strabo seizes the opportunity for a digressive investigation into the historical background of the Pelasgians. Strabo notes that they were generally thought of as "a certain wandering tribe" which spread through all of Greece. Ephorus links them particularly with Arcadia and attributes their widespread glory to the famous Pelasgian mode of life. Strabo then quotes Homer three times on the Pelasgians: first, as colonizers of Crete,

ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες μεγάλητορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
Δωριεῖς τε τριχαῖνες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί (Od. 19.175-177);

second, on Dodonaean Zeus, Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ (Il. 16.233); third, as neighbors to the Cilicians, Ἰππόθοος δ' ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχεσιμωρῶν, / τῶν οὔ Λάρισαν ἐριβόλακα ναιετάσκον (Il. 2.840-841). Strabo then notes that

Ephorus himself used Hesiod as authority for his statement that the Pelasgians originated in Arcadia. Several other sources are then discussed briefly (303.19-304.3) and the digression ends.

In the remaining citations of Book 5 Strabo again defends the concept that historical fact lies behind Homer's myth-making. At 307.14 ff. in discussing the Portus Argous at Aethalia Strabo cites the διαποικίλους pebbles on the beach as proof that the Argonauts had been at the place. Homer merely makes changes in certain facts and changes settings. So too at 335.25 ff. and 336.28-29 in describing the historical background of Cumae Strabo refers to the fact that people said that Avernus was the site of the Homeric Necyia. Strabo argues that this is more than legend: καὶ δὴ καὶ νεκυομαντεῖον ἱστοροῦσιν ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι καὶ Ὀδυσσεὰ εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφικέσθαι. Later while dealing with Cumae and Avernus Strabo explains that there is historical fact behind Od. 11.15-16 (οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς ἥελιος φαέθων ἐπιδέσκειται): the Cimmerians never saw the sun because it was the custom of those who lived near the oracle never to leave their underground homes and tunnels during the day.

In Book 6 we find Homer cited in three passages. At 351.5 ff. Od. 1.184 (ἐς Τεμέσῃν μετὰ χαλκόν)⁴⁹ is interpreted as indicating the city Temesa (in Strabo's time

⁴⁹ Meineke strikes this quotation from his text, but it is restored by Jones.

called Tempsa) in Italy and not Tamasus in Cyprus. Strabo supports the proposition by confirming the existence of abandoned copper mines in the area. The geographer next mentions Homer concerning the islands of the Liparaei. In 352.9 ff. he notes that some people equate these islands with those of Aeolus mentioned by Homer. In a later passage (380.1 ff.) Strabo cites Polybius on certain natural phenomena of the islands which regularly anticipate changes in the wind and on an actual prediction of a change by one of the natives, to prove unequivocally that the Liparaei are the islands of Aeolus. This also proves that Homer was correct (not speaking in mythical terms) when he called Aeolus, ταύραν τῶν ἀνέμων (reference to Od. 10.21). The final citation of Book 6 is found in 373 at the foot of the page.⁵⁰ In determining whether the Arethusa River is the Alpheius Strabo digresses upon rivers which run underground. Zoilus thought the Alpheius rose in Tenedos. Strabo considers this inconsistent for a man who thought Homer was a writer of myths.

In Book 7 Strabo describes the north of Europe. His treatment of the area has been much maligned, and even a kind critic says:

No part of his work is more defective than this. Imperfect as was the knowledge of these regions, he was far from turning to account all the information con-

⁵⁰ Jones restores this passage in his text.

cerning them that was really available in his day.⁵¹ Strabo's ignorance can be traced to his refusal to trust and employ Herodotus and Pytheas. The close of the book on Thrace and Macedonia has been lost but is summarized in epitomes which supply the missing information.

Outside the fragments of Book 7 Homer is cited in two areas: first, a general defense of the poet (406 ff.) while treating the Getae; second, another discussion of the Pelasgians (451 ff.). In the former the neighbors of the Getae are identified as the Mysians, a people which, unlike other tribes, remained in Europe. Strabo approves Posidonius' interpretation of Il. 13.3-5:

. . . αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὅσσε φαεινῶ,
νόσφιν ἐφ' ἵπποπόλων θρηκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν
Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχιέμαχων.

Il. 13.5-6 (καὶ ἀγαυῶν Ἰππημολγῶν / γλακτοφάγων, Ἀβίων τε δικαιολάτων ἀνθρώπων) is then referred to as further proof that the Mysians of Homer's time were a European tribe, for the Hippemolgi, Galactophagi, and Abii were mixed with the Thracians in Strabo's time. Strabo claims that Homer calls them Abii because a life bereft of women is not complete, just as the poet considers the house of Protesilaus half complete because it has no woman (Il. 2. 701). These tribes were also good warriors, and Posidonius thinks that Il. 13.5 should be changed from "Mysi, hand-to-

⁵¹Bunbury 259.

hand fighters," to, "Moesi, hand-to-hand fighters." The remainder of the section (to 417.3) is concerned with individual points of interpretation on these lines of Il. 13. In 407.3-409.2 Strabo argues that Posidonius' conjecture of "Moesians" for "Mysians" should be rejected but that his general interpretation of the lines as being based on fact should be accepted (408.29 ff. especially). 409.29-412.3 is a digressive defense of Homer by Strabo against Apollodorus because he agreed with Eratosthenes that Homer did not have knowledge of faraway places. Apollodorus cites Homer's knowledge of Aulis as πετρήεσσαν (Il. 2.496), of Eteonus as πολύκνημον (Il. 2.497), of Thisbe as πολυτρήρωνα (Il. 2.502), and of Haliartus as ποιήεντα (Il. 2.503) to prove that Homer knew of regions nearby. As evidence of Homer's ignorance Apollodorus cites the poet's failure to mention a single river which flows into the Pontus. Homer invented the Hippemolgi, Galactophagi, and Abii, but did not mention the Scythians. The poet is also ignorant of Egypt and Libya, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, Arabia, Ethiopia, and the ocean. The only exception possible depends on Zeno's emendation of Od. 4.84 to : Αἰθίοπας θ' ἰκόμεν καὶ Σιδονίους Ἀραβάς τε. Strabo replies that it is not amazing that Homer was ignorant of these places, for even men of later times did not know of them and invented marvelous stories about them, men such as Hesiod, Alcman, and Aeschylus. Apollodorus also attacks the theory that Odysseus' wanderings

took place near Sicily. Strabo brushes off these arguments by accusing the critics of excessive rebuke of Homer and promises detailed arguments at proper places. In 412.4-413.26 Strabo argues that Homer did know about the Scythians since he correctly described them as living off their herds, eating milk and cheese, and knowing nothing of developed economy. These same characteristics were visible in the Scythians of Strabo's day. 415.4-417.2 is another defense of Homer with special emphasis on what Ephorus and Apollodorus have to say. Ephorus is praised for concluding that Homer knew the Scythians, but Strabo warns that Ephorus' reliability is suspect in some cases. He had attributed the invention of the wheel to a man later than Homer, although at Il. 18.600 is found: ὥς δ' ὅτε τις κεραμεύς τροχὸν ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃσι.⁵² Strabo concludes that Apollodorus was mistaken: Homer really did know of the Mysians and did not invent them. At 427.28 ff. Homer's Galactophagi are cited once more to prove that there existed historical fact behind the poet's utterances. Strabo explains that beyond the peace-loving Georgi lived Nomads who survived on horse meat, cheese from mare's milk, and mare's milk itself. For this reason they are called Galactophagi. The same nomads are described as just and resourceless because they lease their lands to others and do not go to war unless they are cheated of their rent.

⁵² This line is excised by Meineke, but Jones restores it.

At 451.3 are found the final citations of Homer in the extant portion of Book 7. Mention of Dodona causes Strabo to recall that the oracle was said to have been founded by the Pelasgians. Strabo again quotes Il. 16.233 (see above, p. 64) to verify the relation between Dodona and the Pelasgians. Strabo also refers to Il. 16.235: Homer calls them from their lifestyle men with dirty feet who sleep on the ground. This proves that the people in the neighborhood of Dodona were barbarians. Strabo, however, is uncertain whether this barbarian people should be called the "Helli" or "Selli." Homer names a river the Selleeis when he says (Il. 2.659): τηλόθεν ἔξ Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος. Nevertheless, Strabo goes on to conjecture that it was after Mount Tomarus that Homer named the interpreters of Zeus ("tomouroi"). Strabo asserts that some people emend Amphinomus' advice to the suitors not to attack Telemachus in this way:

εἰ μὲν κ' αἰνήσωσι Διὸς μέγαλοιο τομοῦροι,
αὐτὸς τε κτανέω, τοὺς τ' ἄλλους πάντας ἀνώξω.
εἰ δέ κ' ἀποτρεπέησι θεός, παύεσθαι ἄνωγα. (Od. 16.
403-405)

Strabo says that nowhere in Homer are oracles "themistes." The geographer notes that there is some confusion between the terms, "tomouroi" and "themistes." One is tempted to interpret "themistes" (and "boulai") strictly as oracular terms, as when Homer says (Od. 14.328): ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλήν ἐπακοῦσαι.

In the fragments of Book 7⁵³ Homer is cited on Thrace and Thessaly, Macedonia, the Paeonians, the Sinties, and the extent of the Hellespont. The poet is first mentioned (14 and 15) in regard to the Europus River. Strabo explains that Homer called it the Titaresius, since it has its source on Mount Titarius. In Thrace (14 and 16) are found the cities of Crannon and Gyrton which Homer referred to in Il. 13.301-302: τῷ μὲν ἄρ' ἐκ Θρήκης Ἐφύρους μετὰ θωρήσσεσθον, / ἥ ἐ μετὰ Φλεγύας μεγαλήτορας. Strabo explains that by "Ephyri" are meant the Crannonians and by the "Phlegyae" the Gyrtonians. In 20-24 are found citations on Amydon (20 and 23), the Axios River by it (20, 21, 23, and 23a), and the genealogy of Iphidamas (24). Fragments 20 and 23 identify the city of Abydon on the Axios as Homer's Amydon mentioned in Il. 2.848-850:

Αὐτὰρ Πυραίχμης ἄγε Παίονας ἀγκυλοτόξους,
τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος, ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὺ ῥέοντος,
Ἀξιοῦ, οὐ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικλίδναται αἶαν.

Line 849 is quoted and reference is made to the Paeonians coming to the aid of Troy. In 20, 21, 23, and 23a Homer is cited on the Axios River.⁵⁴ 21, 23, and 23a also raise the problem that the river is actually muddy but is described

⁵³ I have followed Jones, vol. 3, 320-387 in the text and numbering of the fragments.

⁵⁴ This quote is also found in a newly discovered papyrus fragment. See B. Krebber, "NAYETOΛΟΓΟΙ bei Strabon: ein Neues Papyrusfragment," Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 9 (1972) 204-221.

as κάλλιστον ὕδωρ. Since a spring called Aea mingles with the Amydon, Strabo suggests that the οὖ of Il. 2.850 be emended to ῥ̃. The meaning would then be, "The Axios, over which spreads the fairest water of Aea." The Axios does not spread over the earth, but the spring over the Axios. Eustathius (who preserves the fragment) in 23a describes Strabo's attitude in this argument as ὑποδυσκόλως. In 38 and 39 Strabo refers to Homer's "son of Pelegon" (Il. 21. 141). Homer is correct on so naming the hero, since the Paeonians were known as Pelagonians both by common opinion and by history. In 45 Homer's naming of the Sinties (Il. 1.594; ἔνθα με Σίντιες ἄνδρες) as inhabitants of Lemnos is defended, for the island was held in Strabo's time by the Sinti, a Thracian tribe. Finally in 57, Homer is quoted and referred to several times on the extent of the Hellespont. Il. 9.359-361 is cited as evidence that the Hellespont covers the Aegean Sea as far as the Thermaean Gulf and the sea which is near Thessaly and Macedonia:

ὄψεαι, ἦν ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἶ κέν τοι τὰ μεμῆλη,
ἦρι μάλ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα πλεούσας
νῆας ἐμάς.

Strabo contrasts this with Il. 4.520: ἦρως Ἰμβρασίδης, ὃς ἄρ' Αἰνόθεν εἰληλούθει. The hero is Peiroüs, the leader of the Thracians (Il. 2.844 and 4.519). The Thracians in turn are described as ὅσους Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἑέργει (Il. 2.845). Despite some textual difficulty in the

next few lines⁵⁵ we can make out the point of the second argument: Homer limits the Hellespont to the Thracians and does not accordingly allow the greater extent.

We may briefly view one side of the overall character of the citations in Books 3-7 so far discussed in a fragment we have mentioned but not fully illuminated. Although 24 is only a summary of an epitome, Strabo's thought on the significance of Homer is clear:

After the Axios River is the city of Thessalonica which used to be called Therma. Cassander founded it and named it after his wife, the daughter of Philip the son of Amyntas. He moved the towns around this city into it--towns such as Chalastra, Aenea, Cissus, and some others. One might suspect that Homer's Iphidamas was from this Cissus. Homer says that Iphidamas' grandfather Cisseus brought him up in Thrace, which is now called Macedonia.

In this case the historical fact reveals a true interpretation of Homeric information. This searching for the fact underlying Homeric poetry seems to be the most common aspect of the Homeric citations in Books 6 and 7: Homer alters names or changes them completely; his text must be correctly understood or emended; in some cases the poet is simply ignorant (but who was not?). If we only take the trouble to understand Homer correctly, he can be seen as a reliable authority.

Of course there are instances in which Strabo comes directly to Homer's defense, but the geographer's concern

⁵⁵ See Jones, vol. 3, 382-383.

is more than a blind defense of Homer. Early in Book 6 (348.11-13) he asserts that the man who is engaged in a description of the world must deal not only with the present facts but the facts of the past as well, especially when they are noteworthy. In describing the wealth of Iberia Strabo depends, not only on accounts of his own day, but also on the information Homer provides, for τοῦ δ' Ἰβηρικοῦ πλούτου καὶ ταῦτα μαρτύρια (204.4-5). Strabo had to select among myths, stories, and legends, and the different authorities for them. In his desire to give significant and relevant information about geography--information which, according to the philosophy of geography, should be useful to rulers and commanders--he constantly depends upon and defends Homer. We shall see in the next chapters that Strabo's dependence increases as Homer provides more material.



CHAPTER IV

BOOKS 8-10: GREECE AND THE ISLANDS

Strabo's treatment of the geography of Greece has been attacked as no more than a commentary on the Homeric Catalogue of Ships:

That tendency to digression upon mythical and poetical topics which, as we have already pointed out, is one of the leading defects of Strabo's whole work, is here developed to the greatest extent, and has had the effect of converting all these three books into a desultory and rambling commentary upon the Homeric Catalogue of the Ships, together with some other passages of the ancient poets, rather than a systematic geographical treatise.⁵⁶

Strabo had himself visited Athens, Megara, and Corinth,⁵⁷ but was forced to rely upon secondary sources in the remainder of his work. It would, however, be incorrect to imagine that Strabo carefully followed Homer's text--Homer is only one source in a rather complex amalgam:⁵⁸

. . . unter diesen Büchern Apollodors Kommentar zum Schiffskatalog höchste Bedeutung zukommt. Eine be-
neidenswerte Entdeckung! Aber sie erschöpft das Problem nicht. Betrachten wir nämlich den Kreis der na-

⁵⁶Bunbury 226. For similar criticism see Thomson 225 and Tozer 255-256.

⁵⁷Bunbury 266.

⁵⁸Bidder (21-26) traces the majority of the Homeric quotations in Books 8-10 to Apollodorus.

mentlich Genannten, so gliedern sie sich sofort in drei Klassen: Für sich allein steht Homeros, den er als Ausgangspunkt alles Wissens über Hellas betrachtet. Dann kommen die Grossen Werke, denen er sicher weit mehr verdankt, als wir unmittelbar erkennen können, Ephoros, Polybios, Apollodorus und vielleicht Demetrios von Skepsis. Ubrig bleibt ein Haufen anderer Leute, Dichter und Prosaiker von Hesiodos bis zu den Alexandrinern.⁵⁹

But why then does Strabo refer so constantly and in such varied manner to Homer? At this point, without the detailed analysis of the citations in Books 8-10 to follow, we may tentatively accept what Strabo himself says. In the first place, Homer is so famous and familiar (τὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ δόξαν καὶ συντροφίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς) that his statements must be reconciled with the facts ἐφ' ὅσον προσήκει (480.16-24). Secondly, Homer was the first to describe Greece's geography (473.8) and accordingly provides the most reliable source of ancient facts (τὰ ἀρχαῖα) (473.18). We should, therefore, be aware again of Strabo's twofold attitude toward Homer as we have already seen in Books 1-7: Homer must be defended; Homer is the most reliable source of ancient history. It is with this in mind that we shall begin our investigation of the Homeric citations in Books 8-10.

The Peloponnese

Strabo opens his description of Greece with a discussion of sources. In this passage is found the first

⁵⁹W. Aly, Geographica, vol. 1 (Bonn 1968) 334.

mention of Homer in Book 8. His comments are not surprising: the secondary sources are easily judged, except for Homer who spoke poetically and of things as they were in times of old (473.8-19). After the ancient tribes of Greece are divided ethnographically according to dialect, Strabo promises a separate treatment in appropriate order. He follows "the natural character of the regions" and decides that "the succession of the peninsulas" shall order his own description. The first to be treated is "the smallest but the most famous" (476.25-26), the Peloponnese. After a brief sketch of the whole region, a detailed analysis follows (to the end of Book 8).

Strabo begins with the Eleian country and remarks that it had been divided in Homeric times into the Epeians and those under Nestor. As proof three lines are quoted:

ἡδὲ παρ' Ἡλίδα δῖαν, ὅθι κρατέουσιν Ἐπειοί (Od. 15. 298);

Ἀλφειοῦ, ὅς τ' εὐρὺ ρέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης (Il. 5.545);

οἱ δὲ Πύλον, Νηληϊὸς εὐκτίμενον πολίεθρον,
Ἴξον (Od. 3.4-5).

Strabo then carefully notes (479.16-480.3) that the city of Elis had not been founded by Homer's time, and, furthermore, that the places of the Peloponnese named by the poet were generally countries and not cities. Concerning the naming of Pylus, Strabo asserts that Homer borrowed the name of the city for the whole district (480.12 ff.), although he carefully distinguished Nestor's Pylus from Coele Elis.

This distinction must be clearly understood so that Homer's statements do not appear to conflict with the truth. Strabo concludes: δεῖ δὴ τὰ τε ὄντα λέγειν καὶ τὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ παρατιθέντας ἐφ' ὅσον προσήκει προσσκοπεῖν (480.22-24).

After a description of Cyllene (the naval station of the Epeians) (480.25-281.9) and proof that Homer was also aware of the city (reference to Il. 15.518-519),⁶⁰ the geographer moves along the coast to the city of Ephyra situated on the River Selleeis--a river mentioned by Homer. This Ephyra must be distinguished from the Thesprotian, Thessalian, and Corinthian cities of the same name. Strabo argues in three ways from the Homeric text that this city of the Selleeis must be the town of which Homer speaks. First, Ephyra is called the home of Tlepolemus' mother. The hero was the son of Heracles. Heracles' expeditions were in the vicinity of Ephyra on the Selleeis. Il. 2.659 is cited as proof that Heracles brought Tlepolemus' mother Astyocheia from this city: τὴν ἄγειτ' ἐξ Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἀπο Σελλήεντος. Strabo then cites Il. 15.530-531 on the corselet of Meges: τὸν ποτε Φυλεὺς / ἤγαγεν ἐξ Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἀπο Σελλήεντος. The final argument concerns the "man-slaying drug" Odysseus and Telemachus were said to

⁶⁰ Compare the text reading of Ἴων Κυλλήνιον ἀρχὸν Ἐπειῶν with Il. 15.518-519: Πολυδάμας δ' Ἴων Κυλλήνιον ἐξενάρειξε, / Φυλεῖδεω ἔταρον, μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸν Ἐπειῶν.

be in search of. Athene says that Odysseus came to Ephyra
 φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενον, ὅφρα οἱ εἴη / ἰοῦς χοίεσθαι
 (Od. 1.261-262). The wooers said of Telemachus: ἥε καὶ
 εἰς Ἐφύρην ἐθέλει πλείραν ἄρουραν / ἐλθεῖν, ὅφρ' ἐνθεν
 θυμοφθόρα φάρμακ' ἐνείκη (Od. 2.328-329). To prove that
 these drugs were native to Ephyra on the Selleeis, Strabo
 quotes Nestor in his narrative of the war against the
 Epeians concerning the daughter of the Epeians' king (Il.
 11.738-741):

. . . πρῶτος ἐγὼν ἔλον ἄνδρα
 Μούλιον αἰχμητὴν, γαμβρὸς δ' ἦν Αὐγείλοιο,
 πρεσβυτάτην δὲ θυγάτρα εἶχεν . . .
 ἥ τόσα φάρμακα ἦδη, ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών.

Apollodorus was mistaken in identifying the Thes-
 protian Ephyra both as τηλόθεν and ποταμοῦ ἀπὸ Σελλήεντος,
 although he was correct in distinguishing Homeric places of
 the same name by their suitable epithets.⁶¹ In the matter
 of Thesprotian Ephyra he disagrees with his main source,
 Demetrius of Scepsis.⁶² Apollodorus was also mistaken in
 his opinion on the naming of Oechalia, for he claims only
 a Thessalian Oechalia which Homer mentions in Il. 2.730:
 οἳ τ' ἔχον Οἰχαλίην, πόλιν Ἐυρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος. But there

⁶¹Strabo cites Apollodorus on Arcadian Orchomenus as
 πολύμηλον (Il. 2.605), Boeotian Orchomenus as Μινύειον (Il.
 2.511), and Thracian Samos as "between Samos and Imbros"
 (Il. 24.78).

⁶²Apollodorus is described as σκέψεως δεόμενον (482.19-
 20).

is another Oechalia in Homer from which Thamyras had set out when, near Dorium, the Muses ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Ὀρχήλια παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς (Il. 2.595). Therefore, an Arcadian Oechalia exists, also called the city of Eurytus (reference to Il. 2.596).

Strabo now discusses the city Pylus located near the Selleeis in Coele Elis and the towns of the same name in Triphylia and Pisatis, and Messenia (483.1-28). Each area claims the Pylus of Homer's Nestor and attempts to prove how its town is ἡμαθόεντα (the Homeric epithet for Pylus used at Il. 2.77 and elsewhere). Strabo considers the various claims as violence to Homer's words, for the poet himself says (Il. 2.591-602, especially 592 and 601) that Nestor's Pylus was near the Alpheius River. The Alpheius flows through Pisatis and Triphylia. Yet the writers of Coele Elis have zealously pointed out a place called Gerenus and the rivers Geron and Geranius in their own country and claim that Homer derived Nestor's epithet Gerenian from these. On the other hand, the Messenians make the same claim about Gerena. Strabo inclines to the latter, because the place is better known and once was a populous area.

The geographer continues with the description of Coele Elis and moves to an even more difficult problem, Homer's division of the country into four areas with four leaders (483.29-486.18):

οἳ δ' ἄρα Βουπράσιόν τε καὶ Ἥλιδα δῖαν ἔναιον,
 ὅσσον ἔφ' Ὑρμίνην καὶ Μύρσινος ἐσχατώσα
 πέτρῃ τ' Ὠλενίῃ καὶ Ἀλείσιον ἐντὸς ἔεργει,
 τῶν αὖ τέσσαρες ἄρχοι ἔσαν, δέκα δ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ
 νῆες ἔποντο θαλ'· πολέες δ' ἔμβαινον Ἐπειοί. (Il.
 2.615-619)

Since Homer does not include the Buprasians with the Eleians, he contradicts his previous division of the Epeians into two parts. Therefore, Buprasium would be Epeian and not Eleian, even though Homer does include Buprasium with the former in Il. 23.630-631: ὥς ὁπότε κρείοντ' Ἀμαρυγκέα θάπτον Ἐπειοί / Βουπρασίῳ. But when Homer names the two together (Buprasium and goodly Elis), he seems to consider them a single region. To explain the apparent contradiction, Strabo argues that Buprasium was at one time a significant settlement which was no longer in existence. The area had a certain pre-eminence in comparison to Elis but was later included with it. Homer mentions both together by a ποιητικῷ τινι σχήματι, namely, the part with the whole.⁶³ It is not unusual that Homer does not call the Buprasians Eleians, for the poet does not mention all facts (an argument we have seen before).

Hecataeus of Miletus, however, denied the identity of the Epeians and Eleians, and the Eleian possession of Dyme (a territory near Buprasium). Strabo accuses the ἀρ-

⁶³ Other instances of part with whole cited here by Strabo are ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (Od. 1.344), ἀν' Ἑλλάδα τε Φθίην τε (Od. 11.496), Κουρήτες τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοί (Il. 9.529), οἳ δ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου Ἐχινάων θ' ἱερῶν (Il. 2.625).

χαῖτοι συγγραφεῖς of saying things that are not real, employing myths, and disagreeing among themselves. Homer does not mention Dyme, but the town may have been in the possession of the Epeians at the time and later taken by the Ionians and Achaeans.

Strabo completes his study of Il. 2.615-619 by identifying the four boundary markers cited in the passage. Hyrmine was once a small town, although no longer in existence, and near Cyllene there is a mountain promontory called Hormina or Hyrmina. Myrsinus is identified as the settlement Myrtinum which stretches to the sea. The Oleanian Rock is probably Scollis (presently Santameriotiro Mountain). Strabo states that we cannot be certain, for in general places and names have changed with the passing of time, and Homer is not always clear. Aleisium is Alesiaeum, a territory near Amphidolis. In Il. 11.756-758 Homer says of the Hill of Aleisium:

μέσφ' ἐπὶ Βουπρασίου πολυπύρου Βῆσαμεν ἵππους
πέτρης τ' Ὀλενίης καὶ Ἀλεισίου ἔνθα κολώνη
κέκληται.⁶⁴

Strabo explains that we must understand the use of hyperbaton here and interpret the meaning as "where the place called Hill of Aleisium is."

Before the complex discussion of Nestor's country (496.11 ff.), Strabo cites Homer on some smaller matters and

⁶⁴The Oxford text reads ὄφρ' for μέσφ'.

at length on the Cauconians (486.19 ff. and 490.32 ff.). The possibility of two separate Cauconian peoples is proposed, one group in Triphylia, the other in Dyme and Elia near the Caucon River. Homer also seems to designate the Epeian Cauconians as distinct from the Epeian people (486.23-25) when Athene disguised as Mentor says to Nestor (Od. 3.366-369):⁶⁵

. . . . ἀτὰρ ἤῳθεν μετὰ Καύκωνας μεγαθύμους
εἴμ', ἔνθα χρεῖός μοι ὀφείλεται, οὐ τι νέον γε
οὐδ' ὀλίγον. σὺ δὲ τοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τεὸν ἵκετο δῶμα,
πέμψον σὺν δόρῳ τε καὶ υἱέ· δὸς δέ οἱ ἵππους.

Some people attempt to remedy the contradiction by emending the text to ἔνθα χρεῖός μοι ὀφείλεται "Ἠλιδι δέη / οὐκ ὀλίγον, but Strabo promises his own solution in a later passage (490.32 ff.). There he begins an inquiry into the Cauconians' origins (described as an Arcadian and wandering tribe like the Pelasgians) and cites Homer (Il. 20.329) to show that they were allies of the Trojans. At any rate, Strabo accepts the fact of two Cauconian peoples and points out that this is also in agreement with Homer's words. The geographer asks why, if the Cauconians were a single people, did Athene go to them from Pylus into the west, while Telemachus headed east (Strabo quotes Od. 3.366 ff.). So too she might have requested help from Nestor in collecting a "not insignificant debt" from a people under his rule but

⁶⁵ This passage was deleted by Meineke but restored by Jones.

she did not. Strabo concludes that some of the Cauconians had been separated from the rest and settled in Dyme in Eleia. He promises a full discussion of the Pylus problem in a section to come. Let us now consider the lesser Homeric citations before the problem of Nestor's country and Pylus.

Cape Pheia is next as we move along the coast. Strabo notes that there was a small town of the same name there also and quotes Il. 7.135 (487.18) as proof: Φειᾶς παρ τεύχεσσιν, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα. He notes that there is a small river near the place which may be Homer's Iardanus. In discussing the course of the Eurotas, Strabo mentions that a town near it (Helus) is found in Homer (Il. 2.584) (488.11). At 489.10 Triphylia is described as ἡμαθόεντα, a Homeric epithet. Strabo notes that the derivation may be traced to the ancient name of a river (the Amathus) near Pylus, or it may be of uncertain origin. People deny that the river or the area adjoining is ἡμαθόεντα (now translated as "sandy").

The next Homeric citation (490.19-22) is a quote of Od. 3.4-6 to demonstrate that Telemachus found the Pylians making sacrifice at the temple of Samian Poseidon:

οἱ δὲ Πύλον, Νηληϊὸς ἐϋκτίμενον πολίεθρον
ἵξον· τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ θινὶ θάλασσης ἱερὰ ῥέζον
ταύρους παμμέλανας Ἐνοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτῃ.

Strabo criticizes Homer for not telling the truth, although

it is correct for a poet to fabricate what is not true in some cases. Il. 2.591 is quoted (493.1) as indication that Samicum was perhaps the acropolis of Arene in Homeric times: οὗ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀθήνην ἐρατεινήν. Though it cannot be proved absolutely, there is further evidence in the proximity of the River Anigrus (formerly the Minyeius) and Il. 11.722-723: ἔστι δέ τις ποταμὸς Μινυήιος εἰς ἄλλα βάλλων ἐγγύθεν Ἀθήνης. Strabo then quotes Il. 7.133-135 on the ancient city of Chaa and suggests that Celadon and Pheia (the reading of our text also) be emended as follows:⁶⁶

ἡβῶμ' ὥς ὅτ' ἐπ' Ἀκίδοντι μάχοντο
 ἀγρόμενοι Πύλιοι τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἐγχεσίμωροι,
 Χάας παρ τείχεσσιν, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.

As shown in the quote, Chaa is near the tomb of Iardanus and the Arcadians. Il. 9.153 is quoted to illustrate Homer's opinion on the extent of the Pylian Sea: πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγύς ἁλὸς νέαται Πύλον ἡμαθόεντος.⁶⁷ In the final citation (496.11) before discussing Pylus, Strabo gives us some insight into his concern for τὰ παλαιά. From childhood Strabo had been taught legends concerning the ancient conditions of places. He is forced to decide between the various sources. He concludes:

⁶⁶ Strabo reads Ἀκίδοντι for Κελάδοντι and Χάας for Φείας.

⁶⁷ νέαται is now translated as an adjective meaning "last," and not a verb form ("be situated") as Strabo and Aristarchus thought.

πιστεύονται δ' ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἐνδοξότατοί τε καὶ
 πρεσβύτατοι καὶ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν πρῶτοι· Ὀμήρου δ' εἰς
 ταῦτα ὑπερβεβλημένου πάντας, ἀνάγκη συνεπισκοπεῖν καὶ
 τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου λεχθέντα καὶ συγκρούειν πρὸς τὰ νῦν,
 καθάπερ καὶ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἔφαμεν.

Strabo now begins a lengthy interpretation of Il. 2.
 591-596.

οἱ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην ἐρατεινὴν
 καὶ Θρύον, Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον, καὶ Εὐκτιτον Ἀἶπυ
 καὶ Κυπαρισσῆεντα καὶ Ἀμφιγένειαν ἔναιον
 καὶ Πτελεὸν καὶ Ἔλος καὶ Δώριον, ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι
 ἀντόμεναι θάμυριν τὸν Θρήικα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς,
 Οἰχαλίηθεν ἰόντα παρ' Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος.

Pylus is isolated as the target of the inquiry, and the
 geographer begins with Thyrum, Arene already having been
 discussed. It is known as the "ford of Alpheius" because
 the river could be crossed by foot at the place. It is
 presently called Epitalium. "Well-built Aepy" causes some
 problems in correctly identifying it. Some people question
 which word of the phrase is name and which epithet, others
 whether it is the present city of Margalae in Amphidolia.
 Margalae, however, is not a natural stronghold. A more
 likely place is in Macistia, and the name "Aepy" would de-
 scribe its natural formation.⁶⁸ Those who prefer "Euctitum"
 as the proper name argue for Margalae. They name the ford
 Thyrum, and identify Epitalium as "well-built Aepy" (Epi-
 talium is naturally fortified). Homer speaks of a steep
 hill in other places (Il. 11.711-712): ἔστι δέ τις Θρυ-

⁶⁸As examples of nouns from descriptive epithets Strabo cites Helus and Aegialus.

όεσσα πόλις, αἰπεῖα κολώνη, / τηλοῦ ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ Πύλου
 ἡμαθόεντος. Cyparisseeis could have been located in Macis-
 tia or in Messenia, although in the latter only a river is
 so named. Amphigeneia is in Macistia, and Pteleum was once
 a settlement from Thessalian Pteleum,⁶⁹ though now deserted
 and known as Pteleasium. Helus is either a territory near
 Alpheius, a city like Laconian Helus,⁷⁰ or, as the word is
 translated, a marsh near Alorium. Dorium is either a moun-
 tain or a plain, but nothing remains as definite proof.
 Some identify it with the Messenian town Aluris or Alura.
 In the same region is the Oechalia of Eurytus, the place
 from which Homer says Thamyris came to Dorium (where he
 lost his ability to sing). Strabo now begins his discus-
 sion of Nestor's Pylus.

Strabo argues from what has been presented that it
 is clear that Homer's "land of the Pylians" extends on both
 sides of the Alpheius. The Alpheius does not touch Coele
 Elis or Messenia. Nestor's Pylus, therefore, must be the
 Triphylian city. It sits thirty stadia above the sea. This
 is in agreement with what Homer says: Nestor sends a mes-
 senger to invite Telemachus' companions to his home (Od.
 3.423); on his return from Sparta, Telemachus directs
 Peisistratus to avoid Pylus and take the road to the harbor

⁶⁹As proof of the Thessalian city Strabo quotes Il.
 2.697: ἀγχίαιλόν τ' Ἀντροῶνα ἰδὲ Πτελεὸν λεχεποῖην.

⁷⁰As proof of Helus as city Strabo quotes Il. 2.584:
 "Ἐλος τ', ἔφαλον πτολίεθρον.

(Od. 15.195). Telemachus' journey north by sea (Od. 15. (295-298) supports a Triphylian Pylus and begins as follows:

βὰν δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοῦς καὶ Χαλκίδα καλλιρέεθρον.
 δούτο τ' ἥελιος, σκιδώντο τε πᾶσαι ἀγυιαί.
 ἡ δὲ Φεᾶς ἐπέβαλλεν, ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς οὔρω,
 ἡδὲ παρ' Ἥλιδα δῖαν, ὅθι κρατέουσιν Ἐπειοί.

Soon he veers to the east to avoid the suitors' ambush ἐν πορθμῷ Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε (Od. 4.671). He makes his way ἔνθεν δ' αὖ νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῇσι (Od. 15.299). Strabo himself identifies these "pointed" islands as the Echinades. From here Telemachus passes Ithaca to the north and makes his way to the unguarded side of the island. It if were the Eleian Pylus that Homer was thinking of in this passage, why does the poet mention places south of Eleian Pylus when the journey is to the north? It is nonsense as well to suppose that the journey could be made from Messenian Pylus, for the distance would then be much greater and the first part of the journey would be past Neda, not Cruni and Chalcis as Homer says.

A further proof of Triphylian Pylus' authenticity is found in Nestor's recitation to Patroclus of the war between the Pylians and the Eleians. After Heracles had so wasted Pylia that all her youth were slain (Il. 11.691) and only Nestor in his youth (Il. 11.670) was left from the sons of Neleus (Il. 11.691), since the Epeians held Neleus in contempt, they arrogantly and violently mistreated the Pylians. Nestor responded by attacking Eleia and winning

"πεντήκοντα βοῶν ἀγέλας, τόσα πάεα οἰῶν," τόσσα συῶν συβόσια, τοσαῦτα δὲ καὶ αἰπόλια, "ἵππους δὲ ξανθὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα," ὑποπώλους τὰς πλείστας (Il. 11.678-680) (500.10-13). Strabo interprets Nestor to mean that the rout and driving away of the booty took place during the day and that it was night when they returned. While the Pylians were dividing the spoils and offering sacrifice, the Epeians attacked Thyrum (on the Alpheius River) on the third day (Il. 11.707). The Pylians came to the rescue and after a night near the Minyeius River by Arene arrived at Alpheius ἔδιοι (Il. 11.726), that is, at noon. They routed the enemy and pursued him until they reached Buprasium and the πέτρης τ' ὠλενίης καὶ Ἀλεισίου ἐνθα κολώνη / κέκληται, ὅθεν αὐτίς ἀπέτραπε λαὸν Ἀθήνη (Il. 11.757-758). Homer then says αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ / ἄψ ἀπὸ Βουπρασίου Πύλονδ' ἔχον ὠκείας ἵππους (Il. 11.759-760). Strabo argues that, if the Eleian Pylus were the Homeric city, the Epeians would not have mistreated a people who had been wronged together with them by Heracles. How could they take advantage of their own countrymen? How can Augeas and Neleus be rulers of the same people, if they are enemies, and to Neleus (Il. 11.698-702):

. . . χρεῖος μέγ' ὀφείλετ' ἐν Ἥλιδι δῖη,
τέσσαρες ἀθλοφόροι ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν,
ἐλθόντες μετ' αἶθλα· περὶ τρίποδος γὰρ ἔμελλον
θεύεσθαι· τοὺς δ' αὖθι ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀυγείας
κάσχεθε, τὸν δ' ἐλατῆρ ἀφίει.

If this is Neleus' home, it must be Nestor's. How could

Homer say of the Eleians and Buprasians τέσσαρες ἄρχοι ἔσαν, δέκα δ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ / νῆες ἔποντο θααί, πολέες δ' ἔμβαινον Ἐπειοί (Il. 2.619-620)? The country as well was divided into four, and yet Nestor ruled over no one of these but over those οἳ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην ἐρατεινήν (Il. 2.591). How could the Epeians set out for Alpheius and Thyrum, or fall to Buprasium?

It is also incorrect to consider the Messenian Pylus as Homer's city. The Epeians are too far from them to mistreat them and become involved in many defaulted contracts with them (the cause of the war). Nestor could never have completed this raid, if his Pylus were so distant. The Epeians came to Thyrum and the Alpheius. These cannot be in control of the Messenians. Gerena or Gerenia in Messenia may have been named after the Homeric epithet or simply be a coincidence. Finally, it makes no sense to grant all Nestor's lands to Menelaus and give him a foreign rule, when Homer clearly says that it is the Alpheius ὃς τ' εὐρύ ρέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης (Il. 5.545). Strabo now passes to the origins of Eleian control of Olympia.

Strabo cites Homer four more times before moving from the Eleian country to Messenia. The first is Pheidias' quote of Il. 528-530 (503.17 ff.):

ἧ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων·
ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον.

Pheidias used the Homeric description to paint the image

of Zeus in the temple of Olympia. Strabo compares this passage with Hera's movements: σείσαστο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ, ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπόν (Il. 8.199).⁷¹ Strabo finds each characterization appropriate, for the same result followed the nodding of Zeus' brows and the shaking of Hera's body. The geographer also notes a graceful saying that Homer alone has shown what the gods are like. The Eleians are credited for much of the greatness of the temple, although in ancient times they were not a great people and were subject to the Pylians. Their inferiority in ancient times is proved by the Pylians' superiority in number of ships in the Catalogue (Il. 2.602 and 681-619). The Pylians brought ninety ships to the Trojan War, the Eleians forty. The founders of the Olympian Games are discussed next.

Strabo rejects certain ancient stories that Heracles or the Idaean Dactyli originated the games and turns to Homer for proof that such games did exist in ancient times, though under different circumstances. Homer mentions funeral games (Il. 23.255 ff.), and some people conjecture that the Olympian Games are mentioned in Il. 11.698-699. Strabo criticizes this notion, for Pisatis (where the games take place) was never in the control of Augeas (king of the Eleians), and the games were never in Eleia. Homer's games

⁷¹ Meineke strikes this quote from his text, but it is restored by Jones.

clearly took place in Elis (Il. 11.698-699). Besides, the Homeric prize was a tripod, the Olympic a crown.

Homer is next cited in the discussion of Pisatis' ancient history. Strabo credits its fame to the early great rulers, among them Salmoneus (Od. 11.236). In arguing the derivation of the name Pisatis, Strabo refers to Stesichorus' use of the part (city) for the whole (the territory Pisatis). This is likened to Homer's calling Lesbos Μάκαρος πόλιν (Il. 24.544).

The final quote in the Eleian section appears in the description of the Enipeus River. Strabo notes that Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, fell in love with Enipeus: ἡ ποταμοῦ ἠρώσσαι 'Ενιπῆος θέλοιο (Od. 11.238).

Messenia is the next country described (509.16 ff.), and Strabo begins with an investigation into the country's condition at the time of the Trojan War. It was under the control of Menelaus (see Il. 2.581 ff.), and as proof Strabo quotes Il. 9.150-152:

Καρδαμύλην 'Ενόπην τε καὶ 'Ιρὴν ποιήεσσαν
Φηράς τε ζαθέας ἡδ' Ἀνθείαν βαθύλειμον
καλὴν τ' Αἴπειαν καὶ Πήδασον ἀμπελόεσσαν.

These cities are on the Messenian Gulf and the nearby Asinaean Gulf, and Agamemnon would not have promised them to Achilles unless either he or his brother controlled them. Homer clearly states (Il. 2.582) that men from Pherae accompanied Menelaus in the expedition to Troy, and he includes them with Oetylus in the Laconian Catalogue (Il. 2.

585). Strabo identifies (510.27) the Methone of his own day with the city Pedasus promised to Achilles. Cardamyle (511.12) is located between Asine and Thyrides. At 511.26 ff. Strabo identifies the remaining four cities promised by Agamemnon to Achilles. Enope is disputed: either it is Pellana, a place near Cardamyle, or Gerenia. Hire is near Megalopolis in Arcadia or Mesola, an area which runs to the gulf between Taygetus and Messenia. Aepeia is now called Thuria (which borders on Pharae). Antheia is said by some to be Thuria and Aepeia Methone. Others say that the epithet βαθύλειμον is best applied to Asine. Corone is found in the territory of Asine and is identified by some as Homer's Pedasus. Homer states that πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγύς ἄλλος (Il. 9.153). Cardamyle is directly on it, Pharae five stadia away, the others at various distances.

The next Homeric citations are found in Strabo's description of the Laconian Gulf and Sparta (515.3-522.18). Strabo's Sparta as κοιλοτέρῳ χωρίῳ seems to be an indirect reference to Homer's κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα (Od. 4.1). As we move along the Laconian Gulf, we pass Helus, a marshy district situated above the sea. Strabo quotes Il. 2.584 to prove that in earlier times Helus was a city: οἳ τ' ἄρ' Ἀμύκλας εἶχον ἕλος τ' ἔφαλον πτολίεθρον (Il. 2.584). There is a problem in identifying the Messe of Homer's Catalogue (516.23 ff.). Though it is not found in the region of Laconia, Strabo argues that its name is an apo-

copated form of Messene, part of Laconia.⁷² Other places in the Catalogue have been destroyed, some have left remains, others have undergone a change in name.⁷³ In another problem of identification Strabo quotes Homer (Od. 3.249 and 251) to prove the interpretation of some that the Peloponnesus and Laconia in particular came to be called Achaean Argos: ποῦ Μενέλαος ἔην; . . . / ἧ οὐκ Ἄργεος ἦεν Ἀχαιικοῦ? There is also some difficulty in the epithet applied to Lacedaemonia: for κητώεσσαν some write καιετέεσσαν Strabo argues that the former should be interpreted as "large" rather than a derivative of "Kete" (usually translated "deep-sea monsters"). The latter is interpreted by some to mean "kalaminthode" ("abounding in mint"). Others say the clefts caused by earthquakes are called "kaie-toi" from which is derived "kaietas," the Lacedaemonian word for "prison" (a sort of cavern). Some call such caverns "kooi" from which comes Homer's φηρσὶν ὄρεσκαῖοισιν (Il. 1. 268). The final Homeric citations are found in Strabo's argument for Lacedaemon as name both for the city and the country (the country being Messenia and Laconia). When Homer calls the bows καλά, τὰ οἱ ξείνος Λακεδαίμονι δῶκε

⁷²As examples of Homeric apocope Strabo lists the following (the first three also given by Aristotle, Poet. 9. 153): κρῖ for κριθῆ; δῶ for δῶμα; μαψ for μαψίδιον; ἥρως δ' Αὐτομέδων τε καὶ Ἄλκιμος (Il. 19.392) for Ἄλκιμέδων. Our text reading for the last is ἵππους for ἥρως.

⁷³As an example of a change in name Strabo notes Augeiae (Il. 2.583) to Aegaeae.

τυχῆσας / "Ἰφίτος Εὐρυτίδης, he adds τὼ δ' ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συμβλήτην ἀλλήλοισιν / οἴκῳ ἐν Ὀριλόχοιο (Od. 21.15-16). Homer here means the country of which Messenia was a part. There is, therefore, no difference between ξείνος Λακεδαίμονι δῶκε τυχῆσας and τὼ δ' ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συμβλήτην. Homer says (Od. 3.488-489) that Pherae is in Messenia. When Homer says that Telemachus and his companions shook the yoke all day (Od. 3.486), after setting out from Pherae, and adds,

δύσετό τ' ἥελιος (Od. 3.487),
οἱ δ' ἴξον κοίλῃν Λακεδαίμονι κητώεσσαν.
πρὸς δ' ἄρα δώματ' ἔλων Μενελάου (Od. 4.1-2),

he must mean the city. Otherwise they arrived at Lacedaemon from Lacedaemon. Furthermore, it makes no sense that Menelaus' residence was not at Sparta. If it were not there, Telemachus could not say εἴμι γὰρ ἐς Σπάρτην τε καὶ εἰς Πύλον (Od. 2.359). The use of κοίλῃν (epithet of the country) forbids that Homer's land include Messenia, but it may be allowed by poetic license. It is better that Messene is included with Laconia or with Nestor's Pylus, and not separated in the Catalogue as not having a part in the expedition.

After the Argolic Gulf comes the Hermionic Gulf and the places on it (522.19-523.23). Strabo says "since Homer places this beneath Argeia, it is clear that we should not also overlook this portion of the circuit" (reference

⁷⁴Od. 21.13-14. The Oxford text reads δῶρα for καλὰ.

to Il. 2.559-560). This leads to a lengthy discussion of Homer's Argos.

The term Argos is used by Homer by itself and with epithets.⁷⁵ In the first place there is a city Argos: Ἄργος τε Σπάρτην τε (Il. 4.52); οἳ δ' Ἄργος τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε (Il. 2.599). The Peloponnesus is also called Argos: Agamemnon says ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἀργεῖ (Il. 1.30.). Even Greece as a whole is known as Argos, for Homer calls all the Greeks Argives, as he calls them Danaans and Achaeans. He does, however, differentiate by epithets. Thessaly is Pelasgian Argos: νῦν αὖ τούς, ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔνατον (Il. 2.681). The Peloponnesus is Achaean Argos: εἰ δέ κεν Ἄργος ἱκοίμεθ' Ἀχαιικόν (Il. 9.141); ἢ οὐκ Ἀργεὸς ἦεν Ἀχαιικοῦ (Od. 3.251). The Peloponnesus is called Iasian Argos. Homer says: εἰ πάντες γ' ἐσίδοιεν ἄν' Ἰάσον Ἄργος Ἀχαιοί (Od. 18.246),⁷⁶ Penelope would get even more suitors (Eurymachus to Penelope). It seems that Homer meant not all the Greeks but only those nearby. The epithets "horse-pasturing" and "hippian" are used in a general sense. Strabo now digresses and presents some of the arguments concerning the terms Hellas, Hellenes, and Panhellenes.

⁷⁵Strabo notes the following epithets: Ἰάσον, ἵππιον, Πελασγικόν, ἱππόβοτον, Ἀχαιικόν. ἵππιον is not found with Argos in our text.

⁷⁶The Oxford text reads σε ἴδοιεν.

Thucydides (1.3) denies that the poet used the term Hellenes, since the Greeks had not yet been distinguished by a common name from the barbarians. Apollodorus claims that only the Greeks in Thessaly were called Hellenes:

Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες (Il. 2.684). Others oppose these views and cite Homer's description of the Carians as men of barbarous speech (Il. 2.687). The poet also speaks of all the Greeks as Hellenes when he calls Odysseus ἀνδρός, τοῦ κλέος εὐρύ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (Od. 1.344) and when Menelaus says to Telemachus εἰ δ' ἐθέλης τραφῆναι ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (Od. 15.80). Strabo then resumes his treatment of Argos.

The fabulous stories of the sources of the Inachus River are rejected by the geographer, and he also finds fault with Ἄργος ἀνυδρον. Critics try to prove the latter by quoting Homer's verse: καὶ κεν ἐλέγχιστος πολυ-
 ὀψιον Ἄργος ἱκοίμην (Il. 4.171). Strabo disagrees and interprets the key epithet as a synonym for πολυπόθητον ("much longed for"). He also suggests that the word may be emended by omitting the δ and reading the word as πολυ-
 ὀψιον ("very destructive"), identical in meaning with πολύ-
 φθορον. The emended word is related to ἵψασθαι, προῖδψαι, and ἰάψαι, verbs which denote destruction or affliction.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Meineke (526) places the last two words at the bottom of the page along with the last two examples of their meanings (Od. 2.376 and Il. 1.3). Jones restores all in his text.

Strabo quotes the following verses to show these meanings: νῦν μὲν πειρᾶται τάχα δ' ἔψεται υἱᾶς Ἀχαιῶν (Il. 2.193); κατὰ χροῶα καλὸν ἰάψῃ (Od. 2.376); Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν (Il. 1.3). Furthermore, Homer was describing Agamemnon's return to the Peloponnesus and not Argos alone, for the Peloponnesus is certainly not a thirsty land. Others retain the δ and interpret the word as an instance of hyperbaton combined with synaloepha, and read the line καὶ κεν ἐλέγχιστος πολὺ δ' ἔψιον Ἄργος ἱκοίμην,⁷⁸ that is, "would I return πολυ-ἔψιον Ἄργοσδε" (Ἄργοσδε standing for εἰς Ἄργος).

Homer is again cited at 527.15 ff. on Argos. Strabo notes that recent writers speak of Iasidae, Iasian Argos, Apia, and the Apidones. Homer does not mention the Apidones but does use the word ("distant"). The following examples are proposed to support the identification of Homer's Argos with the Peloponnesus: Ἀργεῖη δ' Ἑλένη (Od. 4.296); ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῶ Ἄργεος (Il. 6.152); μέσον Ἄργος (Od. 1.344); πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργῃ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν (Il. 2.108). Recent writers also call the plain Argos, but Homer does not.

Strabo mentions Homer once more in the conclusion of the Argos section (528.24). In detailing the relation between Argos and Mycenae, he notes that Mycenae was sub-

⁷⁸The hyperbaton would be the transposition of the δε in Ἄργοσδε before ἔψιον. The contraction would be πολυδίψιον.

duced after the Trojan War. This fact also applies to other towns mentioned by the poet. With this in mind Strabo quotes Il. 2.559-562:

οἱ δ' Ἄργος τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε τειχιόεσσαν
 Ἑρμιόνην τ' Ἀσίνην τε, βαθὺν κατὰ κόλπον ἐχούσας,
 Τροιζῆν Ἠϊόνας τε καὶ ἀμπελόεντ' Ἐπίδαυρον,
 οἳ τ' ἔχον Αἴγινα Μάσητά τε, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν.

Since Argos has already been considered, Strabo goes on to discuss the other cities listed to see if there is anything significant in their history or remains. Strabo follows the Homeric order but makes no further citation of Homer until Aegina. He identifies Homer's Aegina as lying off the mainland, not the Aegina of Epidaurus. Confusing the two, some write νῆσόν τ' Αἴγινα for Homer's οἳ τ' ἔχον Αἴγινα (Il. 2.562).

As he follows Il. 2.559-562, Strabo notes that Homer mentions some places the way they are actually situated: οἳ θ' Ὑρίην ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αὐλίδα (Il. 2.496); οἳ δ' Ἄργος τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε (Il. 2.559); Ἑρμιονήν τ' Ἀσίνην τε (Il. 2.60); Τροιζῆν Ἠϊόνας τε (Il. 2.61). At times they are not in correct order: Σχοῦνόν τε Σκῶλόν τε (Il. 2.497); Θέσπειαν Γραῖάν τε (Il. 2.498). Sometimes Homer mentions places on the mainland with the islands: οἳ ρ' Ἰθάκην εἶχον (Il. 2.632); καὶ Κροκύλει' ἐνέμοντο (Il. 2.633). In the same way (mainland with island) he connects Mases and Aegina (Mases in Argolis). The poet does not mention Thyreae nor does he know Hysiae, Cenchreae, Cre-

polus, Lyrceium, and Orneae.⁷⁹ Thus Strabo concludes his commentary on Il. 2.559-562.

The next Homeric quote begins the discussion of the places subject to Mycenae and Menelaus in the Catalogue (Il. 2.569-575):

οἱ δὲ Μυκῆνας εἶχον, ἐϋκτίμενον πολίεθρον,
ἀφνειὸν τε Κόρινθον ἐϋκτιμένας τε Κλεωνάς,
Ὀρνειᾶς τ' ἐνέμοντο Ἀραιθυρέην τ' ἐρατεινὴν
καὶ Σικυῶν, ὅθ' ἄρ' Ἀδρηστος πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευεν,
οἱ θ' Ὑπερησίων τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Γονόεσσαν
Πελλήνην τ' εἶχον, ἥδ' Αἴγιον ἀμφενέμοντο
Αἰγιαλὸν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα καὶ ἀμφ' Ἑλίκην εὐρεῖαν.

Strabo faithfully treats each city as it occurs in the Homeric Catalogue. This provides his basic narrative framework until 547.8 and runs over from the Mycenaean country to the Achaeans (beginning at 542.15). Strabo cites Homer only four times in the commentary on Il. 2.569-275. At 535.9-10 the geographer finds the present Cleonae well fortified and surrounded by dwellings, and so agrees with Homer's ἐϋκτιμένας Κλεωνάς. Also verifiable is Homer's description of Corinth as ἀφνειόν (535.17), for the city became richer in later times. Strabo concludes the Mycenaean section by remarking that Hyperesia and the cities after it in the Catalogue should be treated as part of Achaea. The final citation in the commentary on Il. 2.569 ff. concerns Helice and the temple of Heliconian Poseidon, both destroyed by a tidal wave (544.7 ff.). Some people iden-

⁷⁹The last two are placed at the bottom of the page by Meineke (533) but are restored by Jones.

tify the sacrifices performed there with Homer's verses:
 αὐτὰρ ὁ θυμὸν αἶσθε καὶ ἥρυγεν, ὥς ὅτε ταῦρος / ἥρυγεν
 ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα (Il. 20.403-404). Since
 Homer mentions the Pan-Ionian sacrifice, some people infer
 that he lived after the Ionian colonization. They also
 find evidence in Homer's bull, for the Ionians believe they
 receive omens only when the bull bellows. Others deny the
 supposition, simply attributing the similarities to coin-
 cidence and citing Homer's familiarity with the sacrifice
 to Helice.

In the Achaean geography of Book 8 Homer is cited
 twice. At 548.19 Strabo notes that a mountain called
 Scollis by some is named the Olenian Rock by Homer. At
 546.24 ff., after listing the twelve divisions of the
 Achaean country, Strabo investigates what Homer has to say
 on the subject. The poet does not mention Olenus and other
 regions near Aegialus but speaks of them in a general way:
 Αἰγιαλὸν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα καὶ ἀμφ' Ἑλίκην εὐρεῖαν
 He does mention the Olenus of Aetolia: οἱ Πλεύρων' ἐνέ-
 μοντο καὶ Ὠλενον (Il. 2.639). He speaks of two cities
 named Aegeae, one of them Achaean: οἱ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλίκην
 τε καὶ Αἰγᾶς δῶρ' ἀνάγουσι (Il. 8.203). The other is best
 understood as the Aegeae of Euboea: Αἰγᾶς, ἐνθα τε οἱ
 κλυτὰ δῶματα βένθεσι λίμνης· / ἐνθ' ἵππους ἔστησε Ποσειδάων
 (Il. 13.34). It was from this city that the Aegean prob-
 ably took its name. Here also the poet connects Poseidon

and the Trojan War.

The final citation of 8 occurs in Strabo's description of north central Peloponnesus (550.4). The geographer notes that Mantinea (like other cities in the area) no longer exists. Tegea still endures, but three cities mentioned by Homer "are not only hard to find but are useless because they are deserted." The cities are 'Ρίπην τε Σπαρτίην τε καὶ ἡνεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην (Il. 2.606).

Northern Greece: Attica to Thessaly

In Book 9 Strabo describes mainland Greece outside the Peloponnesus. The Homeric citations are a varied and random assortment, most concerned with relevant passages of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships. The poet is first quoted (554.16 ff.) to show that the country near Megara was subject in early times to the Ionians who held Attica. Homer does not specifically mention Megara, for it had not yet been founded. He does, however, include it under the name of the Athenians: οἳ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐϋκτίμενον πολίεθρον (Il. 2.546). Homer means the Megarians, and it must be assumed that they took part in the expedition to Troy. Further proof is the phrase ἔνθα δὲ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες (Il. 13.685). Strabo's argument may be summed up as follows: Attica in early times was called Ionia and Ias. Homer's Iaonians are the Athenians, and Megaris was a part of this Ionia.

Strabo next discusses several Homeric verses concerning the dispute over the possession of Salamis (557. 12 ff.). Some people claim either Solon or Pisistratus inserted after the verse Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας (Il. 2.557), the verse στήσε δ' ἄγων, ἔν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες (Il. 2.558). Homer thus served as witness that the Athenians held the island from the beginning. Other Homeric verses prove the contrary. Aias is found with the Thessalians: ἐνθ' ἔσαν Αἴαντός τε νέες καὶ Πρωτεσιλάου (Il. 13.681). Further proof is found where Homer says that Agamemnon

εὖρ' υἱὸν Πετewο Μενεσθῆα πλήξειππον
ἔσταότ' ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, μήστωρες αὐτῆς·
αὐτὰρ ὁ πλησίον ἐστήκει πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,
πάρ δὲ Κεφαλλήνων ἀμφὶ στίχες.

Agamemnon previously (Il. 4.273) ἦλθε δ' ἐπ' Αἰάντεσσι,
and near them was Ἰδομενεύς δ' ἐτέρωθεν (Il. 3.230), not Menestheus, king of the Athenians. Strabo goes on to conclude that Salamis was a separate state in early times.

Off Cape Sunium lies the island Helene. Strabo notes that some people claim this to be the place where Alexander says to Helen (Il. 3443-445):

οὐδ' ὅτε σε πρῶτον Λακεδαίμονος ἐξ ἐρατεινῆς
ἔπλεον ἀρπάξας ἐν ποντοπόροισι νέεσι,
νῆσφ δ' ἐν Κρανᾷ ἐμίγην φιλότῃτι καὶ εὐνῇ.

It is called Craneae because they had their first intercourse there.

Strabo later (567.3 ff.) notes that Boeotia was held by various barbarian tribes in early times. He refers to

Boeotians. The poet separates them and calls them Minyae (Il. 2.511). Strabo refers to the poet again on Boeotia (572.6 ff.). Near Anthedon, the last city of Boeotia opposite Euboea, as Homer says, 'Ανθηδόνα τ' ἑσχατόωσαν (Il. 2.508), is Isus, a city considered sacred by the Boeotians and containing ruins. This Isus has a short first syllable, but some people think the Homeric verse (Il. 2.508) should be written: Ἴσον τε ζαθέην 'Ανθηδόνα τ' ἑσχατόωσαν. They lengthen the first syllable by poetic license and on account of the meter. Nisa is not found in Boeotia (as Apollodorus says), and Homer would be incorrect, unless he meant Isus for Nisa. Others think we should read Κρεῦδον τε ζαθέην (in Strabo's time the naval station of the Thespians), others Φαρὰς τε ζαθέας (one of the four united villages in the vicinity of Tanagra), others Νῦδον τε ζαθέην (a village in Helicon). Strabo now moves to the interior of Boeotia.

On Lake Copais is a town Copae which is named by Homer (574.22 ff.) at Il. 2.502. Copae was in danger of inundation by the lake, but a subterranean channel opened near the village and it was saved. A similar incident occurred near Orchomenus (575.11 ff.). A fissure opened in the Melas River which flowed through Haliartus and formed a marsh. The river has completely disappeared either because the fissure disperses it into invisible channels or because other marshes near Hiliartus use it up. For this

reason Homer calls Haliartus "grassy" when he says (Il. 2. 503): καὶ ποιήενθ' Ἀλῆαρον Of the various rivers in the area, Cephessus has its beginning at Libaea in Phocis. This agrees with Homer's verse: οἷ τε Λῆλαιαν ἔχον πηγῆς ἐπὶ Κηφισσοῖο (Il. 2.523). Near Lake Copais in the interior of Boeotia is the Cephissian Lake (575.20 ff.) which is mentioned by Homer (Il. 5.708-709): ὅς ρ' ἐν Ὑλῃ νάεισκε μέγα πλούτοιο μεμηλώς, / λίμνη κεκλιμένος Κηφισσίδι. The poet does not here mean Lake Copais (as some suppose) but Lake Hylice, named after the nearby village Hyle, not after Hyde as some think who try to emend the Homeric words to ὅς ρ' ἐν Ὑδῇ νάεισκειν. Hyde is in Lydia, Τμώλῳ ὑπο νιφόμεντι, Ὑδῆς ἐν πλόνι δῆμψ (Il. 20.385), Hyle in Boeotia. Furthermore, Homer adds to his words λίμνη κεκλιμένος Κηφισσίδι (Il. 5.709) πὰρ δέ οἱ ἄλλοι / νατον Βοιωτοῖ (Il. 5.709-710), and he uses the word in the singular, one time lengthening the first syllable, ἡδ' Ὑλῃν καὶ Πετῶνα (Il. 2.500), at another shortening it, ὅς ρ' ἐν Ὑλῃ νάεισκε (Il. 5.708) and . . . Τυχίος . . . / σκυτοτόμων ὅχ' ἄριστος Ὑλῇ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ νάων (Il. 7.220 and 221). To write Hyde here is incorrect, for Aias did not send for his shield from Lydia.

Virtually all the remaining citations of Book 9 (from 576.24 to the end at 626.10) appear in a running commentary on various portions of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships: 577.8-585.3 on the Boeotian Catalogue (Il. 2.497-510); 585.4-

587.4 on the Orchomenian Catalogue (Il. 2.511-516); 587.5-599.2 on the Phocian Catalogue (Il. 517-526); 599.3-605.25 on the Locrian Catalogue (Il. 2.527-535); 607.10-626.10 on the Thessalian Catalogue (Il. 2.685-756). Strabo admits (576.24 ff.) that, because Homer follows no order in naming places, it is difficult to avoid error. Yet, although following the seaboard is more advantageous (the places are more famous, the sea gives them a sort of order which Homer lacks), Strabo decides to follow Homer, adding additional information which the poet has omitted. Strabo begins his commentary at Il. 2.497 (since Aulis and Hyria have already been discussed). The geographer carefully follows the Homeric Catalogue (Il. 2.497-510) and attempts to identify each location. Schoenus is a Theban territory and a river. Scolus is a village near the Asopus River at the foot of Mount Cithaeron. Eteonus is also near the Asopus. Of the places in line 498 Thespieae is a city near Mount Helicon, and Graea and Mycalessus have already been mentioned. Strabo then notes (579.25 ff.) that Homer says (Il. 2.499-500): οἳ τ' ἄμφ' Ἄρμ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἐιλέσιον καὶ Ἐρυθράς, / οἳ τ' Ἐλεῶν εἶχον ἥδ' Ὑλην καὶ Πετῶνα. Peteon is a village in the Theban territory. Ocalee is midway between Haliartus and Alalcomenium, and a river of the same name runs by it. Medeon is on the Criaean Gulf (named after the Boeotian Medeon near Onchestus). Homer then says (580.7 ff.): Κῶπας Εὐτρησίῳ τε πολυτρήρωνά

τε Θλοβην (Il. 2.502). Strabo notes that Copae has already been discussed, that Eutresis is a small village of the Thespians, and that Thisbe (in Strabo's time Thisbae) is on the border of the Thespians and Coroneia. Thisbe is a sea-port situated on a rocky place which abounds in doves: this explains why Homer says it abounds in doves. Strabo then notes that Coroneia, Haliartus, Plataea, and Glissas (Il. 2.503-504) are next mentioned by Homer. Coroneia is on a height near Helicon, Haliartus is no longer in existence, Plataea (which Homer speaks of in the singular at Il. 2.504) is at the foot of Cithaeron, and Glissas is in Theban country near Temessus and Cadmeia.

Homer is next cited (582.7 ff.) on those οἱ θ' ὕπο-
 θήβας εἶχον (Il. 2.505). Some identify the place as a lit-
 tle city, others as Potniae. The latter group claims that
 Thebes was deserted and had no part in the Trojan War. The
 former argue that the Thebans did have a role in the expe-
 dition but were living below Cadmeia because they were un-
 able to rebuild it at the time. Therefore, Homer called
 the Thebans of that time the Hypothebans instead of "those
 living below Cadmeia."

Onchestus (Il. 2.506) is near Lake Copais and the
 Teneric Plain. Although Homer, because of the tendency
 to embellish things in poetic fashion, calls the place
 a grove, the precinct sacred to Poseidon is on a bare height.
 Acraephium (583.9-10) is Homer's Arne and is said to have

been swallowed up by Lake Copais like Mideia. Strabo does not agree with Zenodotus' emendation of Arne to Ascre, for the epithet by no means fits the latter. Also incorrect is the emendation of Arne to Tarne. No Tarne is listed among the Boeotians, though one is mentioned among the Lydians (Il. 5.43-44): 'Ιδομενεύς δ' ἄρα Φαῖστον ἐνήρατο Μήνορος υἱὸν / Βῶρου, ὃς ἐκ Τάρωνης ἐριβόλακος εἰληλούθει.

Strabo completes his treatment of the Boeotians with cities not listed in the Homeric Catalogue but worthy of mention (583.22-585.4). Among them is Alalcomenae which is mentioned by Homer (Il. 4.8): Ἥρη τ' Ἀργείη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενῆς Ἀθήνη. There is a temple of Athene in the city, and the goddess is said to have been born there as Hera was in Argos. For this reason Homer named them as natives of each place. Perhaps also the men of Alalcomenae are not included in the Homeric Catalogue because they were excused from the expedition on account of the city being sacred.

Strabo next treats the Orchomenian Catalogue (585.4-587.4; Il. 2.511-516) and notes initially that Homer separates the Orchomenians from the Boeotians by calling the former Minyeian. Orchomenus was without a doubt a wealthy and powerful city in early times. Homer also bears witness to its wealth, for when he was reckoning places that were very wealthy, he said (Il. 9.381-382): οὐδ' ὅσ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσσεται, οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας / Αἴγυπτίας. Aspledon

is discussed at 586.5, but no mention is made of Homer.

In 587.5-599.2 Strabo discusses Phocis. He begins with a rough sketch of the country's boundaries (587.5-589.6) and applies most of his energies to a long description of the country's most illustrious city Delphi (587.9-596.13). Although Strabo does not further mention Homer, he does treat all the places mentioned in the Phocian Catalogue (Il. 2.517-526): Python/Delphi (589.7 ff.); Crisa (590.19 ff.); Daulis (596.29 ff.); Anemoreia (597.8 ff.); Hyampolis (597.15 ff.); Cephissus River (598.2 ff.); Lilaia (598.4 ff.).

Homer is first cited on the Pythian oracle (589.11 ff.) and the temple of Delphi (593.2 ff.). The oracle of Pythian Apollo is ancient because Agamemnon consulted it, as shown in the opening of Demodocus' song (Od. 8.75-80):

νεῖκος Ὀδυσσεύος καὶ Πηλῖαδῶν Ἀχιλλεύος,
ὥς ποτε δηρίσαντο . . .
. . . ἀναξ δ' ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων . . .
χαῖρε νόψ, . . .
ὥς γὰρ οἱ χρεῖων μυθήσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
Πυθοῖ.

Strabo later notes that in his own time the temple of Delphi was πενέστατον but before had been πολυχρήματον: καθάπερ Ὅμηρος τε εἶρηκεν, οὐδ' ὅσα λάϊνος οὐδὲς ἀφῆτορος ἐν τὸς ἔργει / Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθοῖ ἐνὶ πετρῆεσσι (Il. 9.404-405). This wealth is also indicated in the treasure-houses and the plundering of the Sacred War. Some writers theorize an earlier plundering in which the wealth cited

in Homer was carried away. They argue that when Onomarchus, Phayllus, and their armies robbed the temple, no trace of the earlier wealth mentioned by Homer remained. Strabo replies that it is unreasonable to suppose that the older treasures would be mixed with the more recent. Some people interpret ἀφῆτοπος as "treasure-house" and the οὐδὸς ἀφῆτοπος as "underground repository of the treasure-house," and claim that the wealth was buried in the temple. Onomarchus attempted to dig it up but was frightened away by an earthquake. This incident prohibits others from the same attempt.

In the remainder of the Phocis section we find six scattered Homeric citations. At 596.24 ff. Strabo notes that Homer's Daulis has become Daulia, and the Cyparissus of Il. 2.519 has two possible interpretations: some say that it is named as the tree (the cypress); others claim that it is named--by a slight change in spelling--after a village below Lycoreia.⁸⁰ In discussing Panopeus (596.29 ff.) Strabo mentions that the setting of the myth of Tityus was at this place. Homer says that the Phaeacians ῥαδάμανθον Rhadamanthys into Euboea ὀψόμενον Τιτυὸν γαιήϊον υἱόν (Od. 7.324). At 597.20 Strabo notes that Elateia, the largest city of the Phocians and the most important along with Delphi, was unknown to Homer, for it is a more recent

⁸⁰As Jones notes (vol. 4, 370-371 note 2), the exact meaning of this passage is obscure.

site. Strabo next cites Theopompus (598.5 ff.) on Lilaëa as the source of the Cephissus River, "just as Homer says," οἷ τε Αἰλαίαν ἔχον πηγῆς ἐπὶ Κηφισσοῖο (Il. 2.523). The final citation is an indirect reference to Il. 2.517.

Daphnus is no longer in existence but at one time it divided the Locrians in two. Strabo cites as proof the Schedieium in Daphnus which is said to be the tomb of Homer's Schedius, one of the Locrian leaders. The geographer then connects the boundary city's "splitting" (σχίζω) with Schedius.

Still following the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Il. 2.527-535), Strabo describes the country of Locris (599.3 ff.). Once more he discusses the cities and places mentioned in the Locrian Catalogue but does not mention Homer in every instance: Opus (599.13 ff.); Cynon (599.21 ff.); Calliaron (601.6 ff.); Bessa (601.8 ff.); Scarphe (601.10 ff.); Augeias (601.9); Tarphe (601.17 ff.); Thronion (600.28 ff.); Boagrius (600.29 ff.). Strabo first refers to Homer on Patroclus' home (600.3 ff.). At Il. 23.85 Patroclus is said to be from Opus. After committing involuntary murder, he fled to Peleus, but his father Menoetius remained in his own land, for Achilles promised Menoetius that he would return Patroclus after the expedition. Strabo, however, asserts that Menoetius was not king of the Opuntians--the king was Aias the Locrian whose native land was Narycus.

Homer is next cited on the remaining cities of Locris (601.6 ff.). Strabo states that it is not worthwhile to

mention any others than those found in Homer. Calliarus is still beautifully tilled (from which it derives its name) as was already the case in Homer's time. Tarphe's (from the word meaning "thicket") character (well-wooded) also coincides with Homer's descriptive name.

Homer does not expressly mention the Western Locrians (601.23 ff.) but does distinguish one group from the Locrians already discussed: Λοκρῶν, οἳ ναίουσι πέτρῃν ἱερῆς Εὐβοῆς (Il. 2.535). These people have not been much discussed, but they did hold several cities. Among them is Chalcis which Homer mentions in the Aetolian Catalogue (Il. 2.640).

After a list of certain places near Locris not mentioned by Homer and a discussion of their historical backgrounds (the return of the Heracleidae, the Phocian or Sacred War, Roman domination, Leonides at Thermopylae), Strabo states (605.17 ff.) that the largest, oldest σύστημα of the Greeks is Thessalian. It has been spoken of in part by Homer, in part by others. The poet always speaks of the Aetolians under one name, categorizing cities, not tribes among them (except the Curetes). At any rate, Strabo says that he must begin with Thessaly, "passing over what is terribly old, mythical, or conflicting." He must do as he has done before and tell what seems appropriate to him.

Strabo begins the Thessaly section with a brief sketch of its characteristics and nature (605.26-607.9).

He concludes the introduction with a promise to include an account of famous names, especially because of Homer's poetry. Few of the cities except Larisa retain τὸ πατρίον ἄξλωμα. Strabo then notes Homer's tenfold division of what in the geographer's time was the country of Thessaly (Il. 2.681-756). Homer adds parts of the Oetean, Locrian, and Macedonian countries, and suggests something that is common and true for all countries--regions and their parts undergo change according to the powers of those who rule them.

Strabo begins (607.17) with the opening lines of the Thessalian Catalogue in which Homer "catalogues" those people under Achilles (Il. 2.681-684):

. . . ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔνατον
οἷ τ' Ἄλον οἷ τ' Ἀλόπην οἷ τε Τρηχῆν' ἐνέμοντο
οἷ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἡδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί.

Strabo goes on to say that Homer joins Phoenix's subjects with Achilles' and makes the expedition common to both. Although the poet nowhere connects the Dolopian army with the Trojan War, he must be interpreted as meaning Phoenix's subjects accompanied him⁸¹ (Homer here employing the grammatical device of passing over in silence). Without his subjects Phoenix would not have been regarded as sharing in the expedition with Achilles, but only as following as a minor leader and speaker, or a counsellor. But Homer's

⁸¹At this point Il. 9.484 is quoted. Meineke strikes it from the text, and Jones calls it "possibly an interpolation," (vol. 4, 401 note 3).

depiction of Phoenix makes it clear that he was more than that: μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι προηκτῆρα τε ἔργων (Il. 9. 443). Strabo concludes that Homer clearly means that the forces under Achilles and Phoenix were the same.

There are, however, problems in identifying exactly the places subject to Achilles. Some people suppose that Pelasgian Argos was a Thessalian city near Larisa which was no longer in existence in Strabo's time. Others consider it the plain of the Thessalians since Abas (who brought a colony from Argos) so named it.

The identification of Phthia is also a problem (608. 17). One group says that it is Hellas and Achaea (the southern half of Thessaly), others distinguish Hellas and Achaea. Homer seems to make Hellas and Phthia separate: οἳ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἥδ' Ἑλλάδα (Il. 2.683); . . . ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε δι' Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόροιο, / Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμεν 9.478-479); πολλὰ Ἀχαιῖδες εἰσὶν ἄν' Ἑλλάδα τε Φθίην τε (Il. 9.395). Homer does not make it clear whether they are cities or countries. Strabo concludes by citing the more recent authorities on Hellas as city or country.

At 609.16 Strabo states that Phthians were those people subject to Achilles, Protesilaus, and Philoctetes. Homer is witness to this: after mentioning Achilles' subjects and οἳ τ' εἶχον Φθίην (Il. 2.683), he makes some remain behind with Achilles, while Philoctetes' subjects (with Medon as leader; Il. 2.727) and Protesilaus' (mar-

shalled beneath Podarces; Il. 2.704) took part in the battle. Homer says of them generally: ἔνθα δὲ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες ἐλκεχίτωνες, / Λοκροὶ καὶ Φθῖοι καὶ παιδιμόεντες Ἐπειοί (Il. 13.685-686). In particular he says (Il. 13.693 and 13.699-700):

πρὸ Φθίων δὲ Μέδων τε μενεπτόλεμός τε Ποδάρκης.
οἱ μὲν πρὸ Φθίων μεγαθύμων θωρηχθέντες
ναῦφιν ἀμυνόμενοι μετὰ Βοιωτῶν ἐμάχοντο.

Some recent opinions end the discussion.

Halus and Alope are placed by some in the Locrian country (610.7 ff.), because Achilles' territory extended that far. Some emend the text and read: οἳ θ' Ἄλωνα οἳ θ' Ἀλτιοῦνθ' οἳ τε Τρηχῖν' ἐνέμοντο (Il. 2.682). The Phthiotic Halus is below the end of Mount Othrys and sixty stadia from Ithonus. Strabo then delves into the ancient history of the place and ends the section by mentioning his previous description of Trachin (603.27 ff.).

The Spercheius River is the subject of Strabo's next Homeric citation (611.9). The geographer concludes from Homer's remembrance of it (Il. 16.174 and 176, and 23.144) that the river must be part of Achilles' territory. Further proof is Achilles' assertion that he grew his hair as an offering to Spercheius (Il. 23.142) and the fact that Menesthius was called the son of Spercheius and the sister of Achilles (Il. 2.173-175).

After listing cities and division of the Phthiotic domain (611.24-612.16), Strabo notes that various changes

have taken place, and only the most important divisions are worth mentioning (612.13-612.16). Homer himself says that the Dolopians inhabited the extremities of Phthia and that both the Dolopians and the Phthiotae were under Peleus, for Phoenix says (paraphrase of Il. 9.483-484): "I lived in the furthest part of Phthia, lord of the Dolopians, whom Peleus gave me." Strabo runs into some problems in discussing tribes which inhabited Mount Pindus (613.3 ff.): Homer says (Il. 2.744) that the Centaurs were driven among the Aethices, a tribe which is now extinct. "Extinct" is defined by Strabo as "completely deserted or no longer with ethnic name and political organization." He again asserts that he will not treat anything insignificant (whether under its old or new name). However, when it is noteworthy, the change must be explained. Strabo completes the list of places subject to Achilles by telling the order of the cities on the coast. As for the rest of Thessaly, since Homer named the leaders and cities, and divided and arranged the country, Strabo decides to follow the poet as he has already done (613.30 ff.). Almost to the end of Book 9 Strabo carefully follows Il. 2.695-759. We shall again discuss only those passages where Homer is cited.

We begin with the country subject to Protesilaus (614.3-615.2; Il. 2.695-710). This territory is adjacent to Achilles'. In the exposition Strabo refers to Il. 2.695-696 and cites Homer's Demetrium as "the sacred pre-

cinct" and "Pyrasus." Eumelus' rule (615.3-616.8; Il. 2. 711-715) is followed by Philoctetes' (616.9-617.6; Il. 2. 716-728). In the latter section Strabo chooses merely to mention the cities listed by Homer, while dwelling on the outstanding features of the island Scyros.

In 617.7-618.26 Strabo discusses Il. 2.729-733, the rule of the Asclepiadae. Homer, who so far has been proceeding along the Magnetan coast, now treats northwest Thessaly: οἱ δ' εἶχον Τρίκλην καὶ Ἰθώμην κλωμακόεσσαν (Il. 2.729). The section is spent in discussing the identification and location of the cities. Strabo recalls that Oechalia is found in several countries. Some historians place the "city of Eurytus" (Il. 2.596) in Euboea and Arcadia as well as in Thessaly.

Eurypylus' country is next (618.27-620.7; Il. 2.734-737: οἱ δ' ἔχον Ὀρμένιον οἱ τε κρήνην Ὑπέρειαν / οἱ τ' ἔχον Ἀστέριον Τητάνοιό τε λευκὰ κάρηνα (Il. 2.734-735). Most of the section concerns the identification of Phoenix's homeland (619.6-620.7). Demetrius of Scepsis claims Phoenix was from Ormenium and emends λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα (Il. 9.447) to οἶον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον Ὀρμένιον πολύμηλον. Crates makes Phoenix a Phocian, citing the helmet of Meges used by Odysseus in the night raid (Il. 10.266-267): . . . ἐξ Ἑλεωνος Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο / ἐξέλετ' Αὐτόλυκος, πυκνὸν δόμον ἀντιτορήσας. Eleon is in Parnassus, and

Amyntor is the father of Phoenix, and Autolycus (who lived on Parnassus) might have burglarized a nearby home.

Demetrius counters that there is no Elean Parnassus, and burglary is not limited to neighbors only. Some emend from "from Eleon" to "from Heleon," but Heleon is in Tanagra. This makes absurd the statement that φεῦγον ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε δι' Ἑλλάδος, / Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμεν (Il. 9. 478-479; Phoenix speaking).⁸²

Polypoetes' country is next to Eurypylus' (620.8 ff.; Il. 2.738-747): οἱ δ' Ἀργίισσαν ἔχον καὶ Γυρτώνην ἐνέμοντο, / Ὀρθὴν Ἠλώνην τε πόλιν τ' Ὀλοοσσόνα λευκὴν. Strabo inquires into the early history of the country and recounts that the Lapiths, Ixion, and Perithoous overcame the Perhaebians. Perithoous also subdued the Centaurs. Homer says (Il. 2.744): ἐκ Πηλίου ὥσε καὶ Αἰθίκεσσι πέλασσε. Strabo continues and treats Polypoetes' other cities, noting that Oloosson is called λευκὴν because of its white clay and that Elone and Gonnus, cities of the region, are near the Europus River (the Titaresius in Homer; Il. 2.751). The Titaresius and the Perhaebians are mentioned in the next catalogue (622.4-623.10; Il. 2.748-755):

Γονεὺς δ' ἐκ Κύφου ἦγε δῶα καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας.
τῷ δ' Ἐνιῆνες ἔποντο μενεπτόλεμοί τε Περαιβοί,
οἱ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχεῖμερον οἶκ' ἔθεντο,
οἳ τ' ἀμφ' ἱμερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο. (Il. 2. 748-751)

⁸² Apparently the statement would be absurd because Tanagra is too far from Phthia to be the first country arrived at.

The poet assigns these places and Polypoetes' cities to the Perrhaebians. He commits the Perrhaebians to the Lapiths, because the two peoples were intermingled and the Lapiths generally held the Perrhaebians as subjects. Near part of the Perrhaebian territory the Titaresius united with the Peneius (622.17 ff.). The Peneius is pure, the Titaresius oily, with the result that the latter does not mix with the former ἀλλά τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιτρέχει ἡὺτ' ἔλαιον (Il. 2.754). Of the many places Strabo knows of among the Pelasgiotes (that is, the Perrhaebians and the Lapiths together), Homer cites but a few, for some were not settled, others were wretched settlements. The poet does not mention Lake Nessonis (although he does mention the smaller Lake Boebeis) since it was filled irregularly and at times gave out.

There are also problems in the Magnetan places (623.11-623.30). Many places are cited by Homer, but only two are called Magnetan τυφλῶς καὶ οὐ γνωρίμως: οἱ περὶ Πενειὸν καὶ Μῆλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον / ναῖεσκον (Il. 2.757).⁸³ Yet, the people of Gyrton (Il. 2.738) and Ormenium (Il. 2.734) and others must also have been in Magnetis around Peneius and Pelion. Magnetans lived even farther from Pelion according to more recent writers. However, due to migrations and changes in name, these writers may have also been con-

⁸³ Jones, vol. 4, 447 note 1, states that the only place the Magnetans or their country is mentioned is Il. 2.756.

fused.⁸⁴

The same kind of problem exists in the case of the Perrhaebians and the Aenianians (623.30 ff.). Homer (Il. 2. 749) described the two as being close together. Later writers placed the Aenianians in the Dotian Plain, near Perrhaebia but isolated all round by hills. Strabo concludes (624.19 ff.) that, at any rate, the Magnetans last mentioned in the Thessalian Catalogue (Il. 2.756-759) should be placed within Tempe from the Peneius and Ossa to Pelion. The places after as far as the Peneius (624. 19 ff.) are not clearly ordered by Homer, but since they are of no repute, they may be passed over. Book 9 ends with some random citations of places and a brief look at Thessaly as a whole.

Western Greece and the Islands

Book 10 completes Strabo's circuit of Greece. Besides a brief discussion of Acarnania and Aetolia (633.24-636. 10) the main portion of the book is concerned with the islands adjacent to Greece. Strabo does not constantly follow the Homeric Catalogue of Ships as he did in 8 and 9, but we can view the citations as falling into six groups according to geographical areas. Euboea is the first island treated by the geographer (626.11-633.23). Homer is

⁸⁴Following this section is a passage of doubtful authenticity in which is found a quote of Il. 13.301-302. It is very similar to 3.335 ff. and related passages.

cited four times in regard to it. The general shape of the island is described, and then Strabo begins an investigation into the island's name: it was known as Abantis as well as Macris. At any rate, Homer calls Euboea by its own name, but names the inhabitants Abantes (Il. 2.536 and 542): οἱ δ' Εὐβοίαν ἔχον μένεα πνείοντες Ἀβάντες . . . τῷ δ' ἄμ' Ἀβάντες ἔποντο. Various theories on the origin of the Abantes follow.

Homer is next cited on the Euboean cities of Gerastus and Chalcis. Strabo lists the cities of Euboea as they are found on the coast and he notes (629.13 ff.) that Geraestus is not mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue, but in another place (Od. 3.177-178): . . . ἐς δὲ Γεραιστόν / ἐννύχιοι κατὰγοντο The poet demonstrates that Geraestus is a convenient port for those sailing from Asia to Attica because it is so close to Sunium. In his discussion of Chalcis (630.25 ff.) Strabo notes that there are cities of the same name in Aetolia and the Eleian country. The former is supported by Il. 2.640: Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον, Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν The latter is mentioned in Telemachus' return journey from Nestor's land to Ithaca (Od. 15.295): βάν δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοῦς Χαλκίδα πετρήεσσαν.

In the Euboean section Strabo cites Homer once more on the unique method of Euboean fighting (632.9-633.4). After noting that the foremost cities of the island, Chalcis and Eretria, have generally gotten along together, he

describes Euboean hand-to-hand fighting.⁸⁵ They use their spears outstretched, as Homer says (Il. 2.543-544): αἰχμηταὶ μεμαῶτες ὀρεκτῆσι μελίσσι / θώρηκας ῥήσσειν. Strabo conjectures that the spears may have been of a special type, perhaps like τὴν Πηλιάδα μελίνην (cf. Il. 19.390), which οἶος ἐπίστατο πῆλαι Ἀχιλλεύς (Il. 19.389). Odysseus also knew how to throw the javelin-spear, for he says (Od. 8.229) δοῦρϊ δ' ἀκοντίζω, ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος τις ὄϊστῳ. Hand-to hand fighting includes the javelin as well as the sword, for Homer says (Il. 4.469): οὔτησε ξυστῷ χαλκήρει, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα. Contrary to the Euboean style of fighting is the Locrian:

. . . οὐ σφιν σταδίνης ὑσμίνης ἔργα μέμηλεν,
ἀλλ' ἄρα, τόξοισιν καὶ ἐϋστροφῷ οἶδ' ἄωτῳ
"Ἴλιον εἰς ἅμ' ἔποντο.

Except for a brief reference to the Homeric Catalogue (Il. 2.639: Olenus and Pylene located among the Aetolian cities by Homer), Strabo cites Homer on Acarnania and Aetolia in two areas: the western islands and the Curetes. Strabo begins with a muddled reference to Leucas as ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο (632.21 ff.). He interprets the phrase to mean the country across from Ithaca and Cephallenia, that is, Acarnania. Homer, however, mentions Leucas only once (Od. 24.11) and there applies the epithet "rocky." of the cit-

⁸⁵The reason for their prowess in this manner of fighting was that long range weaponry had been outlawed.

⁸⁶The Oxford text reads οὐ γὰρ σφι σταδὶν ὑσμίνῃ μέμνε φίλον κῆρ.

ies of Leucas were Nericus, taken by Laertes (Strabo quotes Od. 24.377-378: ἥ μὲν Νήρικον εἶλον ἐϋκτίμενον πολίεθρον, / ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο, Κεφαλλήνεσσιν ἀνάσσω), and the cities mentioned by Homer in the Catalogue (Strabo quotes Il. 2.633: καὶ Κροκύλει' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αἰγίλιπα τρηχεῖαν).

Strabo then cites Homer extensively (637.29-641.8) in a tangled discussion of terminology. In Strabo's time only the inhabitants of the island of Cephallenia were called Cephallenians, but Homer uses the name for all the subjects of Odysseus including the Acarnanians. After saying αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦγε Κεφαλλήνας / οἳ δ' Ἰθάκην εἶχον καὶ Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον (Il. 2.631-632),⁸⁷ Homer follows with Il. 2.633-635:

καὶ Κροκύλει' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αἰγίλιπα τρηχεῖαν,
οἳ τε Ζάκυνθον ἔχον ἥδ' οἳ Σάμον ἀμφενέμοντο,
οἳ τ' ἠπειρον ἔχον ἥδ' ἀντιπέραι' ἐνέμοντο.

By ἠπειρον Homer meant both Leucas and Acarnania, about which he says (Od. 14.100): δώδεκ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ ἀγέλαι, τόσα πῶσα μῆλων.⁸⁸ The poet definitely meant the present Cephallenia for Samos when he says (Od. 4.671): ἐν πορθμῷ Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης. His use of the epithet "rugged" distinguishes the island from the city of the same name.

⁸⁷ Strabo quotes the following parallels to Ithaca and Neritum: οἳ δ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου Ἐχινάων θ' ἱερῶν (Il. 2.625); οἳ δ' ἄρα Βουπράσιόν τε καὶ Ἥλιδα (Il. 2.615); οἳ δ' Εὐβοίαν ἔχον καὶ Χαλκίδα τ' Εἰρέτριάν τε (Il. 2.536); Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι (Il. 8.173).

⁸⁸ This is perhaps explained by the extension of Epeirotis to this extent in early times.

Homer also calls the islands Same (formerly Samos; Il. 2. 634) when he says (Od. 1.245-246): ὅσσοι γὰρ νήσοισιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι, / Δουλιχίῳ τε Σάμῃ τε καὶ ὑλήεντι Ζακύνθῳ. Apollodorus has a different interpretation: "rugged Samos" does not distinguish the island from the city, but Od. 1.246 should be emended to "Dulichium and Samos" (for "Same"). This means that the city was called by either name, but the island was known as Samos only. That the city was called Same is clear from what Homer says (Telemachus speaking in the first): ἐκ δὲ Σάμης πλουρὺς τε καὶ εἴκοσι φῶτες ἔασι (Od. 16.249): τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα Σάμηνδ' ἔδοσαν (Od. 15.367). Strabo is not, however, convinced and states that Homer does not clearly express himself about Cephallenia or Ithaca and the adjacent territory. Therefore, the commentators and historians disagree. Some examples of Homer's imprecision in expression follow.

When Homer says of Ithaca (639.10 ff.; Il. 2.632), οἳ δ' Ἰθάκην εἶχον καὶ Νήριτον, he shows by the epithet that he means the mountain Neritum. Strabo then quotes Od. 9.21-22 to prove that Homer elsewhere calls it a mountain: ναϊετάῳ δ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον· ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ, / Νήριτον. But it is unclear in Il. 2.632 (which is again quoted here by Strabo) whether Ithaca is the island or the city. If taken in its proper sense, it would be interpreted as the

city.⁸⁹ If taken in poetic fashion (whole and part together), the opposite is true. The meaning is clear in Od. 9.21-22 (Strabo again quotes the lines), for the mountain is on the island, not in the city. It is not clear in Od. 3.81: ἡμεῖς ἐξ Ἰθάκης ὑπὸ Νηίου εἰλήλουθμεν Are Neium and Neritum the same? Is Neium a mountain or a place? It is definitely incorrect to write Nericum for Neritum. The latter is referred to as "with quivering foliage" (Il. 2. 632) and "on Ithaca" (Od. 9.21), the former as "well-built fortress" (Od. 24.376) and "shore of the mainland" (Od. 24. 377).

A second example of a Homeric contradiction (639. 26 ff.) is found in Od. 9.25: αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτῃ εἶν' ἀλλ' κεῖται. χθαμαλὴ means "low" or "on the ground," πανυπερτάτῃ "high" or "lofty," as shown in Ithaca's being called κραναήν. The same is indicated in Homer's reference to the road leading from Ithaca's harbor (Od. 14.1-2): τρηχεῖαν ἀταρπόν / χῶρον ἀν' ὕληεντα. It is also evident in Od. 4.607-608: οὐ γάρ τις νήσων εὐδείελος, οὐδ' εὐλείμων / αἶθ' ἀλλ' κεκλίεται. Ἰθάκη δέ τε καὶ περὶ πασέων.⁹⁰ Strabo proposes that these Homeric incongruities can be οὐ κακῶς explained. χθαμαλὴ must be interpreted as "lying

⁸⁹ Other examples from Strabo proper to this interpretation are: "Athens are Lycabettus"; "Rhodes and Atabyris"; "Lacedaemon and Taygetus."

⁹⁰ The Oxford Text reads ἱππήλατος, although εὐδείελος is applied elsewhere to Ithaca.

near the mainland," and πανυπερτάτη as "highest toward the darkness," that is, beyond all others turned to the north. In opposition to the latter is, for example, Od. 9.26: αἱ δέ τ' ἀνευθε πρὸς ἥῳ τ' ἡέλιόν τε. This may be interpreted as "towards the south and apart from the mainland." Homer's meaning here is also clear in Il. 12.239-240 and (even more so) in Od. 10.190-192 (Odysseus speaking):

εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι, πρὸς ἥῳ τ' ἡέλιόν τε,
 εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοίγε, ποτὶ ζόφον ἡερόεντα.
 ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ τ' ἴδμεν, ὅπη ζόφος, οὐδ' ὅπη ἥῳς,
 οὐδ' ὅπη ἡέλιος φασίμβροτος εἰς' ὑπὸ γαῖαν,
 οὐδ' ὅπη ἀννεῖται.

Strabo concludes the Ithaca section with some remarks on the four quarters of the sky.

The treatment of the Cephallenia section begins with a Homeric citation (641.9). Homer does not mention the island by name, but only one of its four cities, Same or Samos, which no longer was in existence in Strabo's time. Strabo next notes (641.22 ff.) a problem in identifying the Cephallenians. The various theories that they were inhabitants of Dulichium or Taphios are not in agreement with Homer. The Cephallenians were the subjects of Odysseus and Laertes, Taphos was subject to Mentos (Od. 1.181-182; Mentos speaking); Μέντης Ἀγχιάλοιο δαΐφρονος εὖχομαι εἶναι / υἱός, ἀτὰρ Ταφίοισι φιληρέτμοισι ἀνάσσω. Homer makes Dulichium and the remaining Echinades Meges' subjects (Il. 2.625). The inhabitants of the Echinades were Epeians from Elis, and consequently Homer calls Otus the Cyllenian (Il.

15.519), Φυλείδew ἔταρον μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸν Ἑπειῶν. On the other hand, Homer says (Il. 2.631): αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦγε Κεφαλλήνας μεγαθύμους. Strabo concludes, relying on Homer, that neither is Cephallenia Dulichium, nor is Dulichium part of Cephallenia. Pherecydes' assertion that Paleis is called Dulichium by Homer is also false in Strabo's view. The person who most opposes Homer is the man who identifies Cephallenia with Dulichium. If it were true that there were τῶν μνηστήρων ἐκ μὲν Δουλιχίου δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα (Od. 16.247) and ἐκ δὲ Σάμης πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι (Od. 16.249), would not Homer have stated that fifty-two came from the whole island and a little less than half from a single city of the same island? If this is true, what is meant by "Same" in the verse (Od. 1.246), Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμην τ' ἥδ' ὕληεντα Ζάκυνθον?

The remainder of the Homeric citations concerning Aetolia, Acarnania and the adjacent islands (643.1-651.2) are scattered and varied. At 643.1 ff. Strabo locates the small island of Asteria between Ithaca and Cephallenia. Homer calls it Asteris (Od. 4.846), and Demetrius of Scepsis says that Homer's description (Od. 4.846-847) no longer holds true: λιμένες δ' ἐνὶ ναύλοχον αὐτῇ / ἀμφίδυμοι. Apollodorus claims that the description still holds true.

The Samothrace of Strabo's time was known as Samos by Homer (643.7 ff.). It is reasonable to suppose that the poet knows of the Ionian Samos, for he is acquainted with

the Ionian migration. Homer differentiated between these islands of the same name by designating the Thracian Samos with appropriate descriptions: ὕψοῦ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς Σάμου ὑληέσσης / θρηικίνης (Il. 13.12-13); ἐς Σάμον ἔσ τ' Ἴμβρον καὶ Λῆμον ἀμφιχθαλόεσσαν (Il. 24.753); μεσσηγύς τε Σάμοιο καὶ Ἴμβρου παιπαλοέσσης (Il. 24.78). Homer, therefore, knew Ionian Samos, although he does not name it. Cephallenia and Samothrace were both, consequently, called Samos.⁹¹ Ionian Samos (which was not yet colonized) borrowed its name from one of the islands which possessed the name earlier. Those writers who claim Samos was colonized after the Ionian migration are incorrect. It is more likely that the island got its name from being lofty (lofty places being σάμοι). For from it ἐφαίνετο πᾶσα μὲν Ἴδῃ, / φαίνετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλιν καὶ νῆες Ἀχαιῶν (Il. 13.13-14). Others connect the name of the island with the Thracian tribe of the Saii (called Sinties by the poet).

Strabo briefly describes Zacynthos (644.8; the remaining island ascribed by Homer to Odysseus at Il. 2.634) and then passes to a discussion of the Echinades Islands (644.16 ff.). Among these islands are the Oxeiae which Homer calls the Thoae (reference to Od. 15.299). Strabo completes his description of the Echinades (645.23) by noting that Homer says (Il. 2.628-629) that they were ruled

⁹¹ Strabo notes that otherwise Hecabe would not have said that Achilles would sell her children and take them captive to Samos and Imbros (Il. 24.752).

at the time of the Trojan War by Meges: ὃν τέκετε Διὶ φίλος
 ἱππότα Φυλεύς, / ὅς ποτε Δουλιχίονδ' ἀπενάσσατο, πατρὶ
 χολωθείς. Near the Echinades are the islands of the
 Taphians.⁹² Homer says that these people were subject to
 Mentès (Od. 1.180) and calls them pirates (Od. 15.427).

The next Homeric citation occurs in a discussion of
 the peoples and cities in the interior of Acarnania (647.
 15 ff.). Strabo eliminates Homer's Olenus (mentioned in
 the Aetolian Catalogue), for it is definitely part of
 Aetolia, although only traces remain. Pylene (also men-
 tioned in the Aetolian Catalogue) has suffered a similar
 fate. Since Homer calls Calydon both αἰπεῖαν and πετρῆεσσαν
 (Il. 13.217 and 2.640 respectively), it should be clear
 that he is talking of the country: the mountains have been
 assigned to Calydon, and the level country to Pleuron.

In Strabo's own time the Aetolians and Acarnanians
 were exhausted from their continual wars with each other.
 For a long time they resisted the Macedonians, other Greeks,
 and the Romans in their fight for autonomy. Strabo then
 proposes (648.9 ff.) that, since they are often remembered
 by Homer (and other poets and historians), at times in a
 way easily understood and at times in an unintelligible
 way (as we have already seen), he should add some older
 accounts which provide facts or are doubtful. A case in

⁹² Strabo calls the Taphians Teleboans as well. The
 latter is not found in the Iliad or Odyssey.

point is Acarnania: who held it before Laertes and the Cephallenians? The writers disagree, but people propose that it was the Teleboans or Taphians under Cephalus who held it. Homer says only (648.26 ff.) that the Taphians were friendly to the Ithacans, so that they either had given up Acarnania to the Ithacans voluntarily, or had not ruled the area at all (or were joint rulers). It seems that a Lacedaemonian colony settled in Acarnania (Icarius, Penelope's father, and his following). In the Odyssey Homer presents (through the suitors' actions in the first quote) Icarius' and Penelope's brothers as living (Od. 2. 52-53 and 15.16-17):

οἱ πατρὸς μὲν ἐς οἶκον ἀπερρίγασι νέεσθαι
 Ἰκαρίου, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐεδνώσαιτο θυγάτρα.
 ἦδη γάρ, ῥα πατὴρ τε κασιγνητοὶ τε κέλονται
 Εὐρυμάχῳ γήμασθαι.

It is not likely that they were living in Lacedaemon, for Telemachus would have stayed with them (rather than with Menelaus) while on his trip, and no other home of theirs was known in Strabo's time. Further on (649.18 ff.) Strabo recalls that he has already proposed that the Acarnanians were enumerated in the Catalogue of Ships,⁹³ that they were part of the expedition, and that among them were "those inhabiting the shore" and also οἱ τ' ἡπειρον ἔχον ἢ δ' ἀντιπέραι' ἐνέμοντο (Od. 24.377). At the same time neither had

⁹³ Actually the Acarnanians are not specifically mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue.

the mainland been named Acarnania, nor the shore Leucas. Ephorus denies that the Acarnanians took part in the expedition and gives a different account of what happened. The Acarnanians probably followed Ephorus' account when they tricked the Romans into believing that they (the Acarnanians) had had no part in the war against the ancestors of Rome. The Acarnanians argued that they were not named in the Aetolian Catalogue or anywhere in the Homeric epics. Strabo, however, disposes of Ephorus' account as *παρὰ τὴν ὀμηρικὴν ἱστορίαν* and cites Thucydides to support his conclusion. Strabo thus ends his specific account of the Acarnanians and promises now to speak generally of their history, its relation to Aetolian history, and the history of Aetolia *ὅσα προσλαβεῖν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔγνωμεν*. The Homeric citations (and this section as a whole) are concerned with the Curetes.

Strabo begins his investigation (651.3 ff.) into the origins and location of the Curetes by noting various hypotheses: they are Acarnanian or Aetolian; they originated in Crete or Euboea. At any rate, Strabo says *ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος αὐτῶν μέμνηται, τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου πρῶτον ἐπισκεπτέον*. Homer appropriately calls them Aetolian, if the sons of Porthaon were truly *Ἄγριος ἡδὲ Μέλας, τρίτατος δ' ἦν ἱππότα Οἶνεύς*. / *ᾤκεον δ' ἐν Πλευρώνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι* (Il. 14.117 and 116). Both are Aetolian cities mentioned in the Aetolian Catalogue, and, since according to Homer

Pleuron was the Curetes' city, they would be Aetolians. Those who oppose this interpretation are misled when Homer says (Il. 9.529-530): Κουρήτες τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενεχάρμαι / ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καλυδῶνα. This would be the same as saying "The Boeotians and Thebans fought one another" or "the Argives and Peloponnesians." However, as we have already seen, it is normal Homeric expression to include the part with the whole. The opposition, nevertheless, is not able to explain how the Pleuronians are catalogued among the Aetolians if they are not the Aetolians or of the same race.

Homer is next cited by Strabo (after the presentation of Ephorus' opinions on the Curetes) in accounts of the Curetes more closely related to Aetolian and Acarnanian history (654.17-655.19). Aetolia was divided into two areas: a region near Calydon under Oeneus, another near Pleuronia under the sons of Porthaon (Agrius and his subjects). All this depends upon the veracity of Il. 14.166: ὦκεον ἐν Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι. When war broke out between the sons of Thestius, and Oeneus and Meleager ἀμφὶ σὺς κεφαλῇ καὶ δέσματι (as Homer says in accordance with the myth of the Calydonian Boar; Il. 9.548), Homer says (Il. 9.529) that Κουρήτες τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενεχάρμαι.

Among the more recent accounts of the Curetes we find three Homeric citations. The first two occur in Strabo's

investigation into the origin of the name. Some people associate it with αἱ κόραι ("girls"), since they wore women's clothes. This was a fashion of the Greeks, and the Ionians were called ἐλκεχίτωνας (indirect reference to Il. 13.685 and others). Another possible derivation relates to the war-dance performed by those who carefully tended hair and tunic. Those who performed the dance would be more warlike, and Homer applied the name (κούρητας) to young soldiers (Il. 19.193-195 and 12.248):

κρινάμενος κούρητας ἀριστῆας Παναχαιῶν,
δῶρα θοῆς παρὰ νηὸς ἐνεγκεῖν, ὅσσ' Ἀχιλλῆι
χθιζοῖ ὑπέστημεν.⁹⁴
. . . δῶρα φέρον κούρητες Ἀχαιοί.⁹⁵

This concludes Strabo's discussion of the etymology of the name.

The last Homeric citation occurs in Strabo's discussion of the possibility that the Curetes are the same as the Corybantes (665.7 ff.). The Corybantes were young men accepted for the war-dance connected with the rites of the Mother of the gods. These Corybantes are called βητάρμονας by Homer (Od. 8.250): δεῦτ' ἄγε Φαιήκων βητάρμονες, ὅσσοι ἀριστοί. At 666.32 Strabo concludes his discussion of the Curetes.

The remaining citations of Book 10 concern Crete and the islands nearby (the Cyclades and the Sporades). The

⁹⁴The Oxford Text reads ἐμῆς for θοῆς.

⁹⁵The Oxford Text reads Ἀχαιῶν for Ἀχαιοί.

first group occurs in Strabo's treatment of Crete (667.1-681.13). After a general introduction detailing the size, topography, and location of the island, Strabo introduces a section on the ethnology of Crete with Od. 19.175-177:

. . . ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες δῖοι τε Πελασγοί.

Homer is mentioned once again (reference to Od. 19.177) in the passage as part of a fanciful theory of Andron which Strabo rejects.

Homer is next cited on the cities of Crete (669.18 ff.). Cnossus, Gortynia, and Cydonia are the greatest and most significant, but of them Homer (and the later poets) ὑμνεῖ Cnossus διαφερόντως. The poet calls it μεγάλην and βασίλειον τοῦ Μίνω (reference to Od. 19.178-179). Cnossus is one hundred twenty stadia from Lyttus, which Homer called Lyctus (Il. 2.647 and 17.611). An outstanding citizen of Cnossus was Minos, a maker of laws and the first to master the seas. He imitated Rhadamanthys and every nine years went off to the cave of Zeus to create laws. He would return with ordinances which he claimed to have come from Zeus. This is the reason Homer says (670.22 ff.; Od. 19.178-179): ἐνθάδε Μίνως / ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστῆς. There is another account which portrays Minos as a harsh, tyrannical exactor of tribute. Minos' birth-place is also disputed: was he a native of Crete or a foreigner? Homer seems to agree (671.1 ff.) with the former

when he says (Il. 13.450): πρῶτον Μίνωα τέκε Κρήτη ἐπὶ-
ουρον.

After Cnossus came the city of the Gortynians. Strabo notes (672.26 ff.) that it lies in a plain, and in ancient times it may have been walled (though not in Strabo's time), just as Homer says (Il. 2.646): Γόρτυνά τε τεύχεσσιν.

Three cities were united into one by Minos. One of them, Rhytium, Strabo assigns to the Gortynians and immediately quotes Homer (674.19; Il. 2.648): Φαιστόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε. Another of the cities, Lyctus, has two cities catalogued with it in Homer (Miletus and Lycastus; Il. 2.647), but these cities no longer existed in Strabo's time.

Another problem involving Homer (674.28 ff.) is the apparent contradiction in the number of the cities of Crete. At Il. 2.647 the poet says the island has one hundred cities, at Od. 19.174 ninety cities. Ephorus claims ten were founded later after the Trojan War. Strabo notes that Ephorus adds that it was Odysseus who called it "Crete of ninety cities." Others claim that the ten cities were destroyed by Idomeneus, the grandson of Minos. Strabo does not agree with either explanation. Homer in speaking of the one hundred cities of Crete, obviously means the cities of his own time and not of the time of the Trojan War (as Odysseus means in the Odyssey when he speaks of the ninety cities). If this is conceded, the destruction of

ten cities by Idomeneus cannot be supported. It is unlikely, for when Homer says (Od. 3.191-192; Nestor speaking) that πάντα δ' Ἰδομενεὺς Κρήτην εἰσήγαγ' ἑταίρους, / οἷ φύγον ἐκ πολέμου, πόντος δέ οἱ οὔτιν' ἀπήύρα, he means that there was no loss of ten cities (otherwise he would have mentioned it). Odysseus could not have known of the loss, since during his wanderings and after he had no contact with Greeks. Nestor also could not have known of the incident.

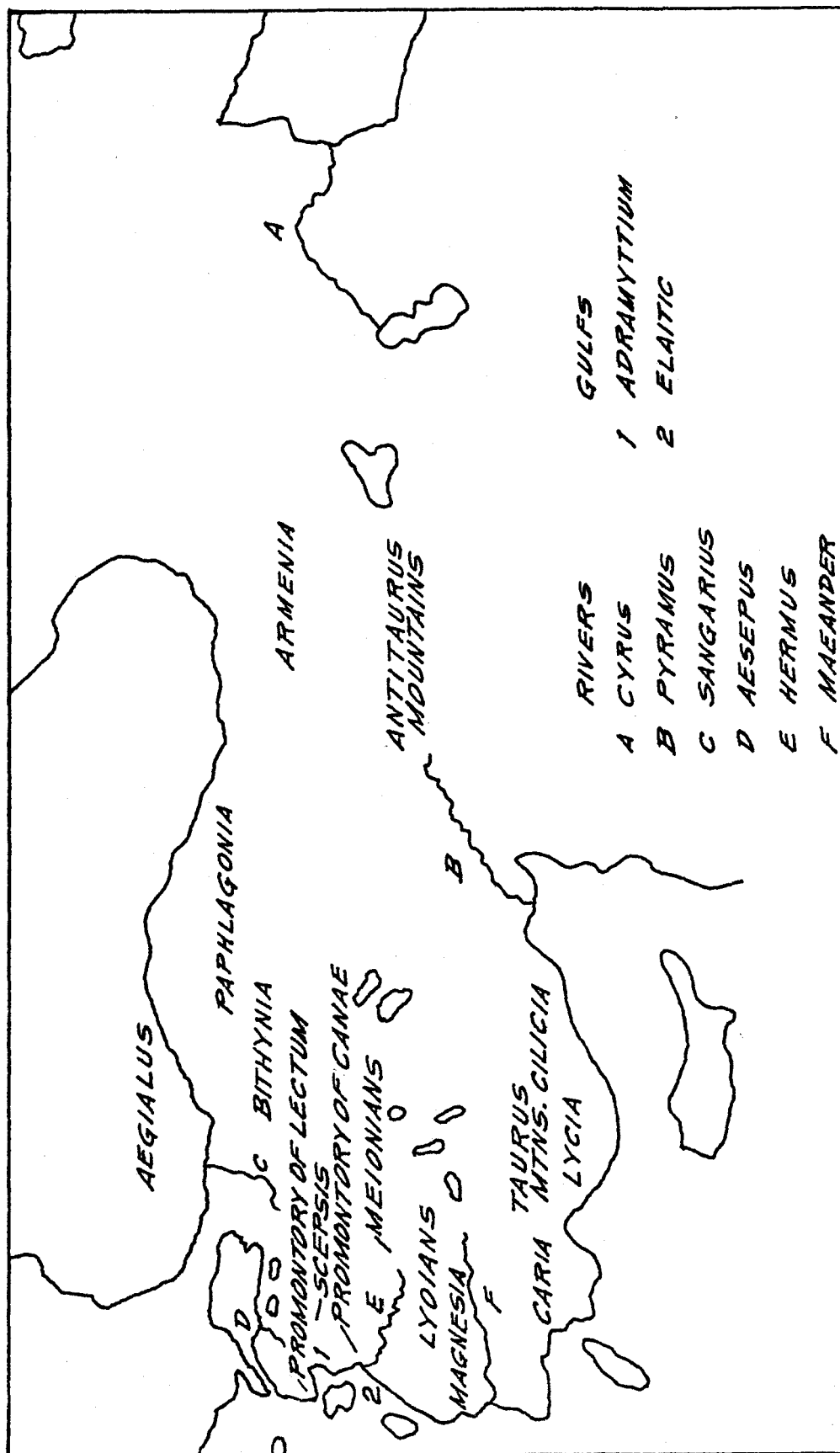
The final mention of Homer in this section (678.28) is in Strabo's treatment of Lycurgus. Lycurgus (according to Ephorus) fled to Crete in fear for his life. After learning Rhadamanthys' and Minos' manner of making laws, he sailed to Egypt and Chios, where he met Homer.

In the final section of Book 10 (681.14-688.19) are found some half dozen scattered citations. At 681.24 Strabo notes that Ios is claimed as Homer's burial place by some writers. Homer may have called the island Syros Syria (685.5) when he says (Od. 15.403-404): νῆσός τις Συρίη κικλήσκεται . . . / Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθε. The remaining citations concern various islands of the Sporades. Among these are the islands named by Homer in the Catalogue of Ships (Il. 2.676-677): οἷ δ' ἄρα Νίσυρόν τ' εἶχον Κράπαθόν τε Κάσον τε, / καὶ Κῶν, Ἐυρυπόλοιο πόλιν, νήσους τε Καλύδνας. Strabo later notes that Homer calls Carpathos Crapathos (687.24) and the Sporades the Calydnian Islands (688.

6). One of these islands is said to be Calymna. In Homer's time Calymna was probably called Calydna, with the islands surrounding it (and subject to it) called the "Islands of Calydna." Others maintain that only the islands mentioned by Homer, Leros and Calymna, are the Calydnian Islands. Demetrius of Scepsis says that the island's name was used in the plural (like Athenae and Thebae) and Homer's words should be interpreted as hyperbaton: the poet does not say "Calydnian Islands" but "those who held the islands Nisyros and Crapathos and Casos and Cos, the city of Eurypylus, and the Calydnae." Strabo remarks that the honey of these islands rivals Attica's and thus concludes Book 10.

In Books 3-7 we found the most common aspect of the Homeric citations to be Strabo's search for true fact underlying poetic invention. In part this holds true for the citations in 8-10, but even more important in these books is Strabo's concern to present information which, even if dated in his own time, will be useful and enlightening for his readers (rulers and commanders). Strabo returns time and time again to the days of old to tell us of strategic locations, important tribes, and the men who ruled them. It is Homer who provides beyond all others (see above, pp. 86-89) this information on the past. The constant theme of the Homeric citations in these books is expressed unob-

trusively in the Thessalian section (607.10-16; see above, pp. 113-114): "Homer suggests something shared by (and true for) all countries, wholes and parts change according to the power of those who rule them." Accordingly, Strabo must try to mediate the contradictions which existed between Homer's statements and the conditions of his own time, that is, he must defend Homer to make him a credible source. Thus, Homer again in 8-10 provides significant material and as such must be defended. This remains true in Books 11-17, especially in the books on Troy.



CHAPTER V

BOOKS 11-17: ASIA AND AFRICA

In Books 11-17 Strabo completes his broad circuit of the Mediterranean. The geographer divides Asia from Europe by the Tanais River, and he further separates Asia into north and south by the boundary of the Taurus Mountains.⁹⁶ In 11-14 the northern section is detailed, with special emphasis on that area of Asia Minor (as we now call it) in which Strabo lived. In 15 and 16 is found the treatment of southern Asia--in 15 the eastern sections from India to Persia, in 16 the western portion comprised of Assyria, Syria, and Arabia. Book 17 is devoted to the African countries of Egypt and Libya. This part of the Geography has, as a whole, received mild praise from critics, although the gaps in Strabo's knowledge of the north and his scanty treatment of Africa have been criticized.

Almost all the Homeric citations of 11-17 are found

⁹⁶ Strabo, like most ancients, had a mistaken notion of the Taurus Mountains. He believed that they extended in a straight east-west line from the coast of Asia Minor to Oceanus north of India. See, for example, E. Warmington, Greek Geography (London 1934) xlii.

in Strabo's treatment of Asia Minor (Books 12-14).⁹⁷ This section has received special praise, even from such a strident critic of Strabo as Thomson: "Strabo conceives a 'great peninsula', and he gives it three whole books, an excellent piece of historical geography and his best."⁹⁸ This is not to say that Strabo also treats Homer in this section in a completely disciplined way.⁹⁹ But as Bunbury notes, there does seem to be more restraint than before: " . . . the Homeric names of localities and nations, though necessarily arising in connection with this subject, are far from occupying the disproportionate amount of attention which they do in the case of European Greece."¹⁰⁰ As we discuss the citations it shall again come clear that Strabo defends Homer and constantly refers to him to strengthen and uphold his own contentions.

Books 11 and 12: Northeastern Asia Minor

In 11 we find three scattered Homeric citations. The first occurs in the section on the Albanians, a people on the Caspian Sea between the Caucasian Mountains and Armenia. After noting that the Albanians make no use of the sea (the Cyprus River is extremely silted up at its mouth and blocks

⁹⁷For sources see Bidder 27-32.

⁹⁸Thomson 288.

⁹⁹For criticism see Thomson 288.

¹⁰⁰Bunbury 300.

passage to the sea), Strabo ascribes the same negligence to Albanian farming (704.30 ff.). The land produces fruit and plants with very little attention. No care is needed, ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα πάντα φύονται (Od. 9.109). Strabo attributes this description to those who have travelled to Albania and speak of it as "Cyclopeian." At 713.10 ff., after criticizing writers who use myth to amaze and give pleasure, Strabo says that a person could more easily believe Hesiod's and Homer's stories of heroes than Ctesius, Herodotus, Hellanicus, and others. In a final reference to Homer (737.28 ff.) Strabo notes that Media, like Armenia, is an exceptionally good ἱππόβοτος country, and there is a meadow of the same name in Media.

In Book 12 Strabo describes Asia Minor from Cappadocia to Bithynia (that is, from the southeast corner of the Black Sea to the Bosphorus) and south to the Taurus Mountains. The first Homeric citations we encounter are scattered.

At 752.9 Strabo notes that in the Antitaurus Mountains are found Comana and the temple of Enyo. This may be an indirect reference to the war-goddess of Il. 5.333. In Cataonia (part of Cappadocia) is found the Pyramus River which silts up like the Nile. Strabo states about the latter (753.29 ff.) that Homer speaks of Pharos as far out in the sea (Od. 4.354), but in his own time it was virtually a peninsula. At 761.23 ff. Strabo reports on some theories

of the origins and location of the Cauconians (a people of Bithynia). Callisthenes proposed that after the verse (Il. 2.855) Κρῶμνάν τ' Αἰγιαλὸν τε καὶ ὑψηλοὺς Ἐρυθίνους, these lines (found only here in Strabo) be inserted: Καύκωνας δ' αὖτ' ἦγε Πολυκλέος υἱὸς ἀμύμων, / οἳ περὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔναιον. This would extend the Cauconian territory and, as Strabo notes, would better agree with the conditions in his own time. Strabo next refers to Il. 3.187 and 16.719 (762.24 ff.) and notes that the Bithynian river the Sangarius is mentioned by Homer. At 763.14 ff. Strabo proposes that there is a problem in identifying the Eneti in Paphlagonia of his own day, although they are definitely associated with that country in Homer (Il. 2.851-852): Παφλαγόνων δ' ἠγεῖτο Πυλαιμένεος λάσιον κῆρ / ἐξ Ἐνετῶν, ὅθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων. Zenodotus emends the text from "from the Eneti" to "from Enete," and interprets Homer to mean the Amisus of Strabo's time. Others say that the Eneti were driven to the Adriatic Sea. All agree that the Paphlagonians made the expedition to Troy and that the Eneti were the outstanding tribe of that people. After the expedition they crossed over to Thrace. This explains their absence from Paphlagonia at the present time. The final short citation occurs at 765.8 ff. The long shore of Paphlagonian Aegialus has a town of the same name which is mentioned by Homer (Il. 2.855): Κρῶμνάν τ' Αἰγιαλὸν τε καὶ ὑψηλοὺς Ἐρυθίνους.

At 771.30-779.13 Strabo discusses the identification of the Chalybes (a people of Armenia Minor south of Pharnacia) as Homer's Halizoni. Strabo states that they are mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Il. 2.856-857): αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδῖος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον / τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη. The reasons for the discrepancy are that the text has been changed from "Chalybe far away" or that the people were in earlier times called "Alybes" instead of "Chalybes." Strabo claims that the change of the name from Alybes to Chalybes to Chaldaei is nothing strange--we have already noted many such changes. Demetrius of Scepsis, however, doubts the change. What follows is a comparison of Demetrius' (and others') opinions with the geographer's.

Some emend the text in the following manner (772. 21 ff.): for Halizoni, Alazones or Amazons; for "from Alybe," "from Alope" or "from Alobe." These people equate the Alazones with the Scythians and place the Amazons near Cyme (in agreement with Ephorus). However, there is no Alybe (or Alope or Alobe) to be found in this region. How also are τηλόθεν and ἀργύρου γενέθλη to be explained? Ephorus answers these objections by emending as follows (773. 8-9): αὐτὰρ Ἀμαζώνων Ὀδῖος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον, / ἐλθόντ' ἐξ Ἀλόπης, ὅθ' Ἀμαζονίδων γένος ἐστὶ. But Alope is not found in the region, and the emendations are rashly contrary to the evidence of the manuscripts. Although

Demetrius does not agree with Zenodotus, he does ascribe to other theories which again do not respect the early manuscripts.¹⁰¹ Besides, these people do not explain how Alope, the silver mines, and the great distance are to be understood. Equally ridiculous is the solution of those people who place the Amazons in the neighborhood of Pygela (between Magnesia, Ephesus and Priene), for "far away" cannot apply to them.

In 774.15-775.14 Strabo completes his refutation of Demetrius. The geographer grants that some things are ἀκύρως inserted into Homer's text, as, for example, τῆλ' ἐξ Ἀσκανίης (Il. 2.863), Ἀρναῖος δ' ὄνομ' ἔσκε, τὸ γὰρ θέτο πότνια μήτηρ (Od. 18.15), εἴλετο δὲ κληῖδ' εὐκαμπέα χειρὶ παχείῃ / Πηνελόπη (Od. 21.6-7). But not all of Demetrius' proposals should be accepted by those who read "from Chalybe far away." Demetrius concedes that the mines of the Chalybians may have been famous, but not the people themselves. Perhaps the mines were famous in Homer's time. Can Homer be faulted for this? How could the fame of Temesa and Thebes (in Egypt) have reached the poet when they are even more distant? Demetrius tries to fix the villages of Nea, Argyria, and Alazonia near his birthplace Scepsis, but no other authority agrees with him. Strabo

¹⁰¹ In one theory Menecrates suggests that Halizones should be spelled with two "l"s. Strabo explains that Homer used one to fit his meter.

now moves against Apollodorus (775.15-779.13).

Apollodorus thinks the Halizoni should be considered as living inside the Halys River (no allied force came to the aid of the Trojans from beyond the Halys). Yet Apollodorus, if questioned, cannot explain "from far away Alybe where is the birthplace of silver." He cannot tell us that no allies came from beyond the Halys. Enemies from the regions beyond are said to have fought with the Trojans. The Amazons would not fight with Priam because he fought against them with the Phrygians (Il. 3.188-189): καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπικούρος ἔων μετὰ τοῖσιν ἐλέγμην. / οἳ ῥα τότε ἤλθον Ἀμαζόνες ἀντιάνειραι. But if people who bordered on the Amazons could request help from Troy, there was nothing to stop them from being allies to the Trojans during the war with the Greeks. The early writers do not give evidence in support of Apollodorus and may even refute him. Apollodorus accepts Zenodotus' emendation of Il. 2.582 (here again quoted by Strabo in emended form), but Strabo dismisses this and refers to his previous rebuttal of the emendation (see above, p. 144).

Apollodorus also contends that Homer had heard of the Paphlagonians of the interior from men who had travelled there by foot and that Homer was ignorant of the coast of Paphlagonia (as well as the whole Pontic coast), for otherwise he would have mentioned it. On the contrary, Strabo replies, from what has been said it should be clear that

Homer knows the whole coast and records everything worth recording. Certain cities are not mentioned because they had not been founded at the time. Homer's ignorance of places, rivers, and tribes cannot be deduced from his not mentioning them. His ignorance may, however, be seen in passing over very significant things (for example, the Scythians, Lake Maeotis, the Ister River). Otherwise Homer would not have named the nomads by significant characteristics ("Galactophagi," "Abii," "men most just," "proud Hippemolgi") and failed to call the Scythians Sauromatae or Sarmatae, or omitted the Ister while mentioning the Thracians and Mysians, or passed by the Bosphorus and Lake Maeotis while speaking of the Cimmerians.

Homer cannot be faulted for leaving out insignificant things. The River Tanais is left out, but how is it important except for being the boundary of Asia and Europe--terms unknown to an age which had not yet divided the world into three continents. Homer does, however, mention the very significant Libya and Lips (the western wind of Libya). Many things were worth mentioning but did not occur to the poet--there is always a certain amount of chance in every man's actions and words. Strabo concludes that Homer's ignorance cannot be proven from his failure to mention certain things. Some examples follow.

Homer cannot be charged with ignorance if he fails to mention a river. The Melas and Pactolus Rivers are not

mentioned by the poet.¹⁰² The Melas flows past Smyrna, the city most often called the poet's birthplace, although he does name the Hermes and Hyllus Rivers. Smyrna itself and the rest of the Ionian cities are not mentioned. Most of the Aeolian cities are passed over, although Miletus, Samos, Lesbos, and Tenedos are mentioned. The Lethaeus and the Marsyus Rivers are not mentioned, but the Maeander is, as are 'Ρῆσόν θ' Ἑπτάπορόν τε Κάρησόν τε Ῥοδίων τε (Il. 12. 20). In naming countries and cities Homer sometimes names rivers and mountains with them, but sometimes does not. The rivers of Aetolia, Attica, and several other countries are not mentioned. If he mentions rivers far away and not those nearby, it does not mean that he was ignorant of them because others were acquainted with them. Some of the nearby peoples he mentions, others not. The Lycians and the Solymi are named, but the Milyae are not, nor are the Pamphylians and Pisidians. The Paphlagonians, Phrygians, and Mysians are named, but not the Mariandyni. The Amazons, Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians are named, but not the white Syrians, Cappadocians, or Lycaonians. He does mention the Aleian Plain and the Arimi (Il. 2.783) but does not say to which tribe they belong. Homer's ignorance can only be proved when he makes a false statement. Consequently, Apollodorus has been proved incorrect, since he

¹⁰² Strabo does note that Homer mentions Mount Tmolus (Il. 2.866 and 21.835) on which the Pactolus rises.

was bold enough to say that the "proud Hippemolgi" and the "Galactophagi" were made up by Homer. Thus does Strabo dispose of Apollodorus' objections.

In 792.28-793.31 (on Bithynia) Strabo discusses the problem of exactly locating tribes within larger geographical units. The geographer locates Mysia between Bithynia and the Aesepus River, extending from Olympus to the sea. Within its (Mysia's) interior he places Epictetus, which does not touch the sea but extends to the eastern parts of the Ascanian Lake and Territory. Part of this last named territory was Phrygian and part Mysian, with the Phrygian part farther from Troy. Homer should be interpreted as meaning these Ascanian places when he says:

Φόρκυς δ' αὖ Φρύγας ἦγε καὶ Ἀσκανίος θεοειδής, / τῇλ' ἐξ Ἀσκανίης (Il. 2.862-863); and

Πάλμυ τ' Ἀσκανιὸν τε Μόρυν θ', υἱ' Ἰπποτίωνος,
Μυσῶν ἀγχεμάχων ἡγήτορα, . . . ἦλθον ἀμοιβοί. (Il. 13.
792-794)

The first is the Phrygian Ascania, the second the Mysian Ascania closer to Troy. That the leaders of these two factions have identical names is nothing strange, for in Homer identity of names is frequent (as is naming people after rivers, lakes, and places).

Furthermore, the poet makes the Aesepus River a boundary of the Mysians. After naming the foothills above Ilium which were subject to Aeneas (Homer calls it Dardania),

he makes Lycia the next country to the north (Pandarus' country in which Zeleia was located). Homer then says (Il. 2.824-826):

οὐ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔνατον ὑπαὶ πόδα νεύατον Ἰδῆς,
ἀφνειοὶ πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσῆποιο
Τρῶες.

Below Zeleia and on the other side of the Aesepus River is Pitya, a place mentioned after Zeleia by Homer (Il. 2.828). The poet then return to the eastern parts and those on the side of the Aesepus River. He thus indicates that the Troad is bounded on the north and east by the Aesepus. Strabo then states that Mysia and Olympus come after the Troad, but the conditions of his own time had been altered by changes in rulers and mixtures of tribes.

The last group of Homeric citations (803.12-806.15) occurs in another discussion of confused boundaries. The Lydians and Maeonians (called Meiones by Homer) are confused with the Lydians and Phrygians: some say that they are identical, others say they are different. The reason that they are confused with the Phrygians and the Lydians is that some people say the Mysians were Thracians, while others claim they were Lydians because of their migration near the time of the Trojan War (the latter agreeing with older theories and myths). Certainly migration and expansion were prevalent near the time of the Trojan War, but it also occurred before it, for the Pelasgians, Cauconians, and Leleges were in existence, tribes which wandered over

Europe in ancient times. Homer makes these tribes the allies of Troy, but not as coming from the opposite mainland.

Another account leads us to identify the Lycians and Solymi as the same people. Homer distinguishes between them. At any rate, Bellerophontes sets out from Lycia and Σολύμοισι μαχέσσαντο κυδαλλίμοισι (Il. 6.184). In the same way Ares μαρνάμενον Σολύμοισι κατέκτανε (Il. 6.204) Peisander his son (our text reads Isander). Sarpedon is also spoken of as a native Lycian (Il. 6.199).

The fertility of the country on the Trojan side of the Halys River has been proven by the various wars of possession since the Trojan War. Even the Amazons tried to attack it (a tribe against whom Priam and Bellerophontes made forays), and this is proven by the Amazonian names of ancient cities in the region. Also proof is the hill of the Trojan Plain, ἣν ἦτοι ἄνδρες Βαττίειαν κικλήσκουσιν, / ἄθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθοιο Μυρίνης (Il. 2.813-814). Myrina is claimed to be one of the Amazons because of the epithet applied to her.¹⁰³ The islands nearby suffered the same because of their fertility, and Homer testifies that

¹⁰³ Strabo's argument on this goes as follows: Myrina was called "much-bounding." Horses are called "well-bounding" because of their speed. Myrina was called "much-bounding" because of the speed with which she drove her chariot. Myrina (apparently Strabo means the tomb) is, therefore, named after this Amazon. The argument is not clear, and one must supply something like, "Only Amazons ride in chariots," to complete the argument and make sense out of it.

Rhodes and Cos were already inhabited by Greeks before the Trojan War.

Migrations and wars confused the tribes and their boundaries after the Trojan War, but Homer sought what could be called Troy since it had been so strong and the king of kings. Just as he calls all the Greeks "Danaans" and "Achaeans," Homer in a general way calls their opponents the "Trojans." This meaning is clear when Homer says (Il. 3.2): Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν; and when he says (Il. 3.8): οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνέοντες Ἀχαιοί. Thus does Homer often use terms differently. Strabo concludes that he must try to give details as best he can and he must not be faulted for missing something in ancient history, for it is things as they are in Strabo's own time that must be his concern.

Book 13: Northwestern Asia Minor

In Book 13 Strabo treats the Troad and Aeolia. The more than one hundred Homeric citations fall into three categories according to geographical areas: the Leleges and the Cilicians; the far interior up to Taurus; the Troad. The last category has the overwhelming majority of the citations and may be further subdivided: introduction to the Troad; places along the sea near Troy; the interior near Troy; places on the coast farther from Troy. It will be convenient to discuss the citations according to these

divisions, for, unlike the citations of Book 12, those of 13 are numerous and on various topics.

Introduction to the Troad

The first group of citations occurs in Strabo's discussion of the general characteristics and boundaries of the Troad. The geographer begs the indulgence of the reader, for, although the country was in ruins and desolated in his time, its fame and age demand a full treatment. Further complicating the problem are the writers and historians who agree on almost nothing--among the historians the first is Homer, who leaves most things to us as guesswork. Strabo concludes that he must examine Homer and the others.

At 816.22 f. Strabo cites Homer on the rule of the Trojans. According to the poet it extended from the area around the Aesepus River and Cyzicene of Strabo's time to the Caicus River (which empties into the Elaitic Gulf). Homer divides the country into eight or nine dynasties, while the majority of their soldiers is listed among the allies. Nevertheless, Strabo notes that there is controversy over the exact extent of the Troad. This is even more confused by the attempts at reconciling the boundaries of the Trojans and Aeolis. At any rate, Homer's opinion on where the Troad starts is given first among those who theorize on the Propontic boundaries--the Troad begins at the Aesepus River (Il. 2.824). In the next section (after

other opinions are given) Strabo supports Homer's boundary by making Mount Ida the best measure of Troy's topography. According to it the Propontic Troad begins in the east near the Aesepus River.

Homer also provides the other boundary according to the extent of Ida, that is, the promontory of Lectum (818. 5 ff.). The poet correctly describes Lectum when he says (Il. 14.283-284) Sleep and Hera "Ιδην δ' ἱκανον πολυπίδακα μητέρα θηρῶν, / Λεκτόν, ὅθι πρῶτον λιπέτην ἄλα. He rightly makes it a part of Ida, the first place of disembarking for those going up to Ida and a place "with many fountains." The last is proved in that the mountain is abundantly watered by a large number of rivers, ὅσσοι ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ἄλαδε προρέουσι, / Ῥῆσός θ' Ἑπτάπορός τε (Il. 12.19-20), and the others in the order which Homer names them and which we can still see (Granicus, Aesepus, Scamander, and Simoeis). While Homer correctly describes Lectum (Il. 14. 284) and Zeleia (Il. 2.824) as the extremes of Ida, he also distinguishes Gargarus as a summit, calling it ἀκρόν (Il. 14.292 and others).

In 819.6-822.6 Strabo presents numerous statements of Homer to prove that the coast from the promontory of Lectum to that of Canae, although divided into dynasties, was part of Priam's rule at the time of the Trojan War. The statements may be roughly divided into those on places sacked by the Greeks and those on the various dynasties.

Strabo notes that Achilles, seeing that the inhabitants of Ilium were within their walls, tried to take away from them all the surrounding places: δώδεκα δὴ σὺν νηυσὶ πόλεις ἀλάπαξ' ἀνθρώπων, / πεζὸς δ' ἔνδεκά φημι κατὰ Τροίην ἐρίβωλον (Il. 9.328-329). By "Troy" Achilles means the mainland sacked by him. He also sacked the country opposite Lesbos near Thebe and Lyrnessus and Pedasus (Il. 20.92), and the country of Eurypylus the son of Telephus: ἀλλ' οἷον τὸν Τηλεφίδην κατενήρατο χαλκῷ (that is, Neoptolemus so acted; Od. 11.518). Homer says that these places were sacked: ὅτε Λέσβον ἑὺκτιμένην ἔλεν αὐτός (Il. 9.129); πέρσε δὲ Λυρνησοῦν καὶ Πήδασον (Il. 20.92); Λυρνησοῦν διαπορθήσας καὶ τείχεα θήβης (Il. 2.691). It was at Lyrnessus that Briseis was taken: τὴν ἐκ Λυρνησοῦ ἐξείλετο (Il. 2.690). At the same time Mynes and Epistrophus fell, as Briseis shows in her lament over Patroclus:

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδέ μ' ἔασκες, ὅτ' ἄνδρ' ἐμόν ὥκυσ Ἀχιλλεὺς
ἔκτεινεν, πέρσεν δὲ πόλιν θελοιο Μύνητος,
κλάιν. (Il. 19.295-297)

In calling Lyrnessus "the city of the divine Mynes" Homer shows that he was the dynast there. However, it was at Thebe that Chryseis was taken: ὥχόμεθ' ἐς θήβην ἱερὴν πόλιν Ἡετίωνος (Il. 1.366). Homer says that Chryseis was part of the spoil taken from there (Il. 1.369). From it also came Andromache (Il. 6.395-397):

Ἀνδρομάχη θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἡετίωνος·
Ἡετίων, ὃς ἔναιεν ὑπὸ Πλάκῃ ὑληέσση,
θήβη Ὑποπλάκῃ, Κιλίκεσσ' ἀνδρεσσιν ἀνάσσω.

This is the second dynasty after Mynes. Accordingly, writers give special interpretation to these lines of Andromache (Il. 22.477-479):

Ἕκτορ, ἐγὼ δούστηνος· ἴη ἄρα γεινόμεθ' αἴσῃ
ἀμφοτέροισι, σὺ μὲν ἐν Τροίῃ Πριάμου ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Θήβῃσιν.

"you in Troy, but I at Thebae" should be interpreted by hyperbaton to mean "both of us in Troy--you in the house of Priam, I at Thebae." The third dynasty was that of the Leleges: "Ἀλτεω, ὃς Δελέγεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισιν ἀνάσσει (Il. 21.86). By Altes' daughter Priam sired Lycaon and Polydorus. Those under Hector as well are among the Trojans in the Catalogue: Τρωσὶ μὲν ἡγεμόνευε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ (Il. 2.816). Then come the Trojans under Aeneas: Δαρδανίων αὐτ' ἦρχεν ἐὺς παῖς Ἀγχίσοιο (Il. 2.819). At any rate, Homer says: Αἰνεία, Τρώων βουληφόρε (Il. 20.83). The Lycians are next and they are also called Trojans (Il. 2.824-827):

οἳ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔναϊον ὑπαὶ πόδα νείατον Ἴδης,
Ἀφνειοί, πύγοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσθήποιο,
Τρῶες· τῶν αὐτ' ἦρχε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός,
Πάνδαρος.

This was the sixth dynasty. Those who lived between the Aesepus River and Abydus were also Trojans. Not only was the region near Abydus subject to Asius (Il. 2.835-837),

οἳ δ' ἄρα Περκώτην καὶ Πράκτιον ἀμφενέμοντο,
καὶ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἀβυδὸν ἔχον καὶ δῖαν Ἀρίσβην,
τῶν αὐτ' Ὑρτακίδης ἦρχ' Ἀσῖος,

but a son of Priam lived there pasturing his father's mares:

ἀλλ' υἱὸν Πριάμοιο νόθον βάλε Δημοκῶντα, / ὅς οἱ Ἀβυδόθεν
ἦλθε παρ' ἵππων ὠκείων (Il. 4.499-500). In Percote a son
of Hicetaon was pasturing cattle which belonged to Priam:

πρῶτον δ' Ἰκεταονίδην ἐνένιπεν . . .
ἵφθιμον Μελάνιππον· ὃ δ' ὄφρα μὲν εἰλίποδας βοῦς
βόσκ' ἐν Περκώτῃ. (Il. 15.546-548)

This country then would be part of the Troad as well as
the next after it as far as Adrasteia, since the leaders
of the latter were υἱε δῶ Μέροπος Περκωσίου (Il. 2.831).
Thus, the people from Abydus to Adrasteia were Trojans di-
vided into two groups (just as Cilicia was the Theban Ci-
licia and the Lyrnessian), one under Asius, the other under
the sons of Merops. One might include in the Lyrnessian
Cilicia Eurypylus' nearby territory. That Priam was ruler
over all these is clearly shown in Achilles' address to
the old man (Il. 24.543-545):

καὶ σε, γέρον, τὸ πρῖν μὲν ἀκούομεν ὀλβιον εἶναι,
ὅσσον Λέσβος ἄνω Μάκαρος πόλις ἐντὸς ἔεργει,
καὶ Φρυγίῃ καθύπερθε, καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων.

Strabo notes that many changes have taken place. He
concludes that, since Homer combines Aeolis (Hermus to
Cyzicus) and Troy, he also might not be guilty of describing
them out of order if he begins with the country from the
Hermus River to Lectum and from Lectum to the Aesepus River.
The two shall be distinguished, and Strabo promises to set
forth the facts as they are along with the statements of
Homer and others.

The Seacoast Near Troy

The geographer begins his description of Aeolis and the Troad at 822.7 and quotes Homer (Il. 2.824-827) on the beginning of the Troad at the city of Cyziceni and the Aesepus River:

οἱ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔναιον ὑπαὶ πόδα νείατον Ἰδης,
ἀφνειοί, πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσήποιο,
Τρῶες, τῶν αὐτ' ἦρχε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός,
Πάνδαρος, ᾧ καὶ τόξον Ἀπολλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν.

Strabo then notes (822.12) that Homer also calls these people Lycians.

Homer is next quoted (822.19 ff.) on the places after the Aesepus River (Il. 2.828-831):

οἱ δ' Ἀδρήστειάν τ' εἶχον καὶ δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ,
καὶ Πιτύαν εἶχον καὶ Τηρεῖης ὄρος αἰπύ,
τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀδρηστός τε καὶ Ἀμφίος λινοθάρηξ,
οἳ δὲ δῶ Μέρπος Περκωσίου.

Near Zeleia is the Tarsius River which is crossed many times by the same road, as is the Heptaporus, a river mentioned by Homer (Il. 12.20).

At 825.11 Strabo tries to identify Homer's Τηρεῖης ὄρος (Il. 2.829): some claim it is a range of mountains adjacent to Zeleia; others say it is a hill forty stadia from Lampsacus.

Paesus is a city between Lampsacus and Parium.

Strabo notes that Homer refers to the place in two ways, one time adding a first syllable, καὶ δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ (Il. 2.828), at another omitting it, ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ Παισῶ / ναῖε πολυκτῆμων (Il. 5.612).

Homer combines the territory of Abydus, Lampsacus, and Parium (the last two not founded in Homer's time according to Strabo), and speaks of the places intervening as follows (Il. 2.835-839):

οἳ δ' ἄρα Περικώτην καὶ Πράκτιον ἀμφενέμοντο,
καὶ Σηστόν καὶ Ἄβυδον ἔχον καὶ δῖαν Ἀρίσβην,
τῶν αὖθ' Ὑρτακίδης ἦρχ' . . .
. . . ὃν Ἀρίσβηθεν φέρον ἵπποι
αἰθωνες μεγάλοι ποταμοῦ ἀπο Σελλήεντος.

In these lines Homer seems to make Arisbe (from which Asius comes) Asius' royal residence (Strabo again quotes the last halves of 838 and 839). Strabo, however, concludes that the places are too obscure to be specifically located.

At 827.6 ff. Strabo cites Homer on the various rivers (and related matters) in the Lampsacus to Abydus area. If Asius truly came from Arisbe and the Selleeis River, the Selleeis flows near Arisbe as Homer says. The Practius River is also in the same region. Homer's words, καὶ Πράκτιον ἀμφενέμοντο, should be interpreted as applying to a river, as should οἳ τ' ἄρα παρ ποταμὸν Κηφισὸν δῖον ἔναλον (Il. 2.522) and ἀμφὶ τε Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο (Il. 2.854).¹⁰⁴ After noting certain identical names (rivers and people), Strabo ends the section by remarking that there is another Asius in Homer (Il. 16.717-719):

. . . ὃς μήτρως ἦν Ἑκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο,
αὐτοκασίγνητος Ἑκάβης, υἱὸς δὲ Δύμαντος,
ὃς Φρυγίην νάεισκε ῥοῆς ἐπὶ Σαγγαρίοιο.

Homer is next cited on the Trojan Plain and the parts

¹⁰⁴The Oxford Text reads δώματ' ἔναλον.

on the side of Mount Ida which were subject to Aeneas (829. 13 ff.). The poet names them in two ways. At one time he says, calling them Dardanians (Il. 2.819): Δαρδανίων αὖτ' ἦρχεν ἔϋς παῖς Ἀγχίσαο. At another he calls them Dardani (Il. 8.173): Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι ἀγχιμαχῆταί. This must have been in ancient times the site of Homer's Dardania (Il. 20.215-216): Δάρδανον αὖ πρῶτον τέκετο νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς, / κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην. Strabo says that in his own time not a trace was preserved.

At 830.10-831.10 Strabo details Plato's illustration of his theory of civilization (man lived first on mountain tops, then hills, then plains) as found in Homer. An example of the first stage is the life of the Cyclopes, who lived on wild fruits, occupied mountain tops, and inhabited caves (reference to Od. 9.109, 112-115; quoted by Plato in Laws 3.680):

ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα πάντα φύονται.
τοῖσιν δ' οὐκ ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι, οὔτε θέμιστες·
ἀλλ' οἳ γ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα,
ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
παίδων ἥδ' ἀλόχων.

An example of the second stage is life in the time of Dardanus, who (Il. 20.216-218; quoted by Plato in Laws 3.681)

κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην, ἐπεὶ οὕπω Ἴλιος ἱρή
ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας φέρον πολυπιδάκον Ἴδης.

The third stage is seen in the life of the plains at the time of Ilus (Plato, Laws 3.682). Ilus is buried in the plain for a good reason--he was the first to set up his

home there (Il. 11.166-167): οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἰλίου σῆμα παλαιοῦ
Δαρδανίδαου / μέσσον κἀπ πεδίον παρ' ἐρινεὸν ἐσσεύοντο.

Strabo then notes that Ilius' city is thirty stadia distant from the Ilium of Strabo's time. The people of Ilium dispute those who base their evidence on Homer, because their city does not seem to be the Homeric city. At any rate, Strabo says there is evidence that many changes took place, and these are to be attributed to stages in life and civilization.

In discussing the Ilians of his own time Strabo notes that Julius Caesar was very thoughtful of them, much like Alexander (832.27 ff.). Alexander cared for them in order to renew their kinship, and because he was fond of Homer. Strabo then says that, at any rate, Alexander, Callisthenes, and Anaxarchus made a recension of Homer's poetry which was placed in a finely-worked casket found among the spoil of the Persians (and therefore known as the Recension of the Casket). Consequently, Alexander was kind to the Ilians because of his zeal for Homer and because of his descent from the Aeacidae who ruled the Molossians (where Hector's wife Andromache reigned as queen). Strabo concludes the section by again denying that the Ilium of his own time is the ancient site.

We now move further along the coast south of Abydos. At 833.25 Strabo notes that Homer mentions (Il. 12.20) the Rhodius River (a river which empties between Abydos and

Dardania; Strabo again quotes the line (see above, p. Further down the coast, below the old and new Ilium, are temples and monuments to Achilles, Patroclus, Antiochus, and Asius. Heracles, however, is not honored because of his sack of the city of Troy. Still, Heracles' sack was not as devastating as the later attacks. Strabo notes that it is for this reason that Homer says (835.4 ff.; Il. 5. 642): 'Ιλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγυιάς. χήρωσε indicates a loss of male population only, not a complete loss. The people do honor, however, those who did completely annihilate the city. Perhaps they do because the latter fought a just war, while Heracles waged an unjust war ἔνεχ' ἱππων Λαομέδοντος (Il. 5.640). Yet, the exact reasons for Heracles' sack are uncertain, but according to Homer it does seem that the city was small, if it is true that ἔξ οἷα σὺν νηυσὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισιν / 'Ιλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν (Il. 5.641-642).

The Trojan Plain

At 835.23 Strabo begins his description of the places near Troy in the interior. Homer is first mentioned as making the narrow plain along Ida the territory of Aeneas and the sons of Antenor, that is, Dardania (835.29). Below and parallel to Dardania is Cebrenia. Demetrius theorizes that the country (and city too) was named after Κεβριόνην νόθον υἱὸν ἀγακλῆος Πριάμοιο (Il. 16.738).

Strabo's next concern is the location and extent of the Trojan Plain. Strabo seems to agree with Demetrius' description: the plain is bounded by Mount Ida, the sea, and the spurs of Rhoetium and Sigeium extending from Ida to the sea. It is here that Homer places most of the battles because it is very wide. Here also are the places pointed out by the poet: Erineus (Il. 5.433); the tomb of Aesyetes (Il. 2.793); Batieia (Il. 2.813); the monument of Ilus (Il. 10.415).

Beginning at 837.8 Strabo examines the Homeric evidence against the site of Ilium in his own day and for the "Village of the Ilians" as the ancient site. Above the village is a hill, Callicolone, past which flows the Simoneis. This helps explain the reference to Ares (Il. 20.51-53):

ὄρωτο δ' ἄρης ἐτέρωθεν ἐρεμνῇ λαίλαπι ἴσος,
ὄξυ κατ' ἀκροτάτης πόλιος Τρώεσσι κελεύων,
ἄλλοτε παρ Σιμόεντι θέων ἐπὶ Καλλικολώνῃ.

The Ilium of Strabo's time could not at all be the town mentioned in these lines--it is too far from Callicolone and the line of battle could not have stretched so far. Also, the words πρὸς Θύμβρης δ' ἔλαχον Λύκιοι (Il. 10.430) better suit the ancient site because the village is much closer to Thymbra than the present Ilium. Erineus lies at the foot of the ancient site and suits Andromache's words (Il. 6.433-434): λαὸν δὲ στήσον παρ' Ἑρινεόν, ἔνθα μάλιστα / ἄμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος.

Erineus is a considerable distance from the present Ilium. Further proof is that Phegus is near Erineus (Il. 9.352-354):

. . . ὄφρα δ' ἐγὼ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν πολέμιζον,
οὐκ ἐθέλεσκε μάχην ἀπὸ τείχεος ὀρυμεν Ἑκτωρ,
ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐς Σκαϊᾶς τε πύλας καὶ Φηγὸν ἔκτανεν.

Strabo's next selection of evidence is based on the location of the Greek "Naval Station." It is very close to the Ilium of Strabo's time and so causes the geographer to wonder at the stupidity of the Greeks and the cowardice of the Trojans. Homer says that the wall was built around the ships only in the last years of the war. The Trojans did not attack the naval station while it was unwallled but waited until it had been fortified. Further evidence from Homer that the city was far from the ships is given in Odysseus' tale to Eumaeus: after saying ὡς ὅθ' ὑπὸ Τροίῃ λόχον ἤγομεν (Od. 14.469), he adds a little while on (Od. 14.496), λίην γὰρ νηῶν ἐκὰς ἦλθομεν. In the Iliad spies are sent to find whether the Trojans will remain παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀπόπροθεν, ἥε πόλινδε / ἄψ ἀναχωρήσουσιν (Il. 10.209-210). Polydamas says (Il. 18.254-255): ἀμφὶ μάλα φράζεσθε, φίλοι· κέλομαι γὰρ ἔγωγε / ἄστυδε νῦν ἵέναι, ἐκὰς δ' ἀπὸ τείχεός εἰμεν. Demetrius cites Histiaea of Alexandria as witness, a woman who wrote a work on the Iliad and asked whether the war took place near the present Ilium and the Trojan Plain. Homer clearly places the latter between the city and the sea. She urges that the present Ilium had

no plain before it at the time of the Trojan War, for the plain of Strabo's time was formed by alluvial deposits.

Further evidence is Polites' position as the Trojan guard and the absence of Hector's running space (839.12 ff.). Polites, ὃς Τρώων σκοπὸς ἴζε, ποδωκείησι πεποιθώς, / τύμβῳ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ Αἰσυήταο γέροντος (Il. 2.792-793), would have been better off (closer to the battles and yet safer) if he had kept watch from the acropolis of the present Ilium, for the barrow of Aesyetes is five stadia on the road to Alexandreia. Also not visible is the "running space of Hector" (Il. 2.812). The present Ilium has no clear space on account of a ridge joining it. The ancient city, however, does have the running space.

Strabo's final arguments on the site of Troy (840.26-842.28) are based on the Ilians' (of the geographer's time) contention that the city was not completely destroyed near the end of the Trojan War. After mentioning that the Locrian maidens began to be sent in appeasement a little after the war, Strabo states that Homer knows nothing of the violation of Cassandra. The poet says that she was παρθένος at about that time (Il. 13.363-366):

πέφνε γὰρ Ὀθρυονῆα, Καθησόμεν ἔνδον ἔοντα,
ὃ ῥα νέον πολέμοιο μετὰ κλέος εἰληλούθει.
ἦτεε δὲ Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην,
Κασσάνδρην, ἀνάεδνον.

No violation is brought up, and Aias' shipwreck is attributed, not to any particular crime, but to Athene's general

hatred of the Greeks (Od. 4.502). Poseidon was angry with Aias' boastful speech (Od. 4.500 ff.).

Although the Ilians claim that the city was not entirely destroyed, Homer clearly states that it was: ἔσσεται ἡμαρ, ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλη "Ιλιος ἱρή (Il. 6.448); ἥ γὰρ καὶ Πριάμοιο πόλιν διαπέρσαμεν αἰπήν (Od. 3.150); βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι;¹⁰⁵ πέρθετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλις δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ (Il. 12.15). Another proof of this is that the wooden image of Athena stood upright in Strabo's time, but Homer clearly shows that it was in a sitting position: orders are given for the robe to be θεῖναι Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν (Il. 6.92, 273). It is better to interpret ἐπὶ as "upon" than "beside." Others try to emend the line.¹⁰⁶ Even more recent writers agree that the city was completely destroyed. In a section concluding the question of the complete destruction of Troy Strabo makes one final reference to Homer. Hellanicus concedes to the present Ilians that their city is Homer's. Strabo describes Hellanicus as οἷος ἐκείνου θυμός (Il. 15.94; our text reads κείνου). Homer's words occur in a speech of Hera on Zeus' extreme temper.

At 842.28 ff. Strabo agrees that Homer's epithet "with many fountains" (Il. 14.283 and others) still appropriately applies to Ida. However, there is controversy over

¹⁰⁵ This phrase is not found in the Oxford Text of the Iliad or Odyssey.

¹⁰⁶ The exact nature of the emendation is obscured by problems with the text at this point.

the meaning of the following lines (Il. 22.147-152):

κρουνὼ δ' ἱκανὸν καλιρρόω, ἔνθα δὲ πηγαί
δοιαὶ ἀναΐσσουσι Σκαμάνδρον δινήεντος·
ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ ῥέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς
γίγνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὥς εἰ πυρός . . .
ἡ δ' ἐτέρη θέρεϊ προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ
ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ.

Strabo takes ὕδατι λιαρῷ as "hot water" but finds none at the ancient site. Also, the Scamander's source is not there, and it has only one source, not two. Strabo supposes that the hot spring has given out and that the cold one enters the Scamander by a hidden passage.

At 843.27 Strabo notes that near the Aeseus River in the interior is a wooded region Caresene named after the Caresus River, which Homer mentions at Il. 12.20 (which Strabo again quotes; see above, p. 149).

The final citations on the inland near Troy occur at 844.45 ff. Strabo renews his attack on the familiar problem of the fabrication of names. Demetrius made up Halizonium and Argyria to suit his theories and emended text of Homer accordingly. He does not, however, explain where Alybe or Alope is to be found. Strabo concludes that, although Demetrius is here giving objectionable proposals, his word should be heeded in other matters since he was a native of the region and wrote thirty books of commentary on the sixty lines of the Catalogue of the Trojans (Il. 2. 816-877). Strabo now returns to the coast near Troy where he left off.

More on the Coast Near Troy and the Interior

At 845.14 Strabo resumes his description of the coast of the Troad (having already taken us to the part of the mainland where Tenedos begins at 835.22). At 845.19 Strabo notes that Tenedos has a temple of Sminthian Apollo, as Homer gives witness: Τενέδοιό τε Ἴφι ἀνάσσεις, / Σμινθεῦ (Il. 1.38-39). After recounting some of the tales of the origin of the Sminthian Apollo, Strabo promises (846.27) that, while these are the opinions of recent writers, he shall soon discuss the traces in the plain of Thebe and in Chrysa--traces which are more in agreement with Homer.

We next encounter Homer concerning the coast of Aeolis after the promontory of Lectum. Strabo notes (847.15) that Homer places the majority of the Trojan Leleges and Trojan Cilicians on the coast between Lectum and the Gulf of Adramyttium. The poet locates (Il. 10.429) the first settlement of the Leleges along the coast which parallels the ridge of Idaea stretching to Lectum. Strabo next states that the Lelegian city of Pedasus was subject to Altes (Il. 21.86-87): Ἄλτεω, ὅς Δελέγεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισιν ἀνάσσει, / Πήδασον αἰπήεσσαν ἔχων ἐπὶ Σατνιόεντι. The site is deserted, but remnants are visible. Some write ὑπό for ἐπὶ and translate "at the foot of Satnioeis," but this must be wrong (Strabo explains that there is no mountain, only a river near the place). Homer names the river (Il. 14.443-445):

. . . Σάτνιον γὰρ οὔτασε δουρὶ
 Οἶνοπίδην, ὃν ἄρα νύμφη τέκε Νηῖς ἀμύμων
 Οἶνοπι βουκολέοντι παρ' ὀχθαῖς Σατνιδέοντος.

He also names it when he says (Il. 6.34-35): ναῖε δὲ
 Σατνιδέοντος ἐϋρρεῖται παρ' ὀχθαῖς / Πήδασον αἰπεινήν.

Strabo next quotes Homer on a problem involving
 Scepsis (850.9-851.23; Demetrius' home of course). Demetrius
 thinks that Scepsis was the royal residence of Aeneas be-
 cause it lies between Aeneas' territory and Lyrnessus. The
 hero fled to the latter when pursued by Achilles. At any
 rate, Achilles says (Il. 20.188-191):

ἧ οὐ μέμνη, ὅτε πέρ σε βοῶν ἀπο μοῦνον ἐόντα
 σεῦα κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ταχέεσσι πόδεσσι,
 κείθεν δ' ἐς Λυρνησσὸν ὑπέκφυγες· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν
 πέρσα, μεθορμηθεῖς.

The prevalent stories of Aeneas do not agree with the story
 of the founders of Scepsis.¹⁰⁷ According to the more com-
 mon stories Aeneas survived the war because of his hatred
 for Priam: . . . ἀεὶ γὰρ Πριάμῳ ἐπεμήνιε δῖω, / οὐνεκ' ἄρ'
 ἐσθλὸν ἐόντα μετ' ἀνδράσιν οὐ τι τίεσκε (Il. 13.460-461).
 Another account is that Aeneas fled with his followers and
 founded a new city in Italy. Homer does not agree with
 these two stories or the story of the founders. The poet
 clearly points out that Aeneas stayed in Troy, succeeded
 to the empire, and bequeathed the succession to his own
 line (since the Priamidae had been wiped out):

¹⁰⁷ The founders of Scepsis claimed that Hector's son
 Scamandrius and Aeneas' son Ascanius had originally founded
 Scepsis.

ἤδη γὰρ Πριάμου γενεὴν ἤχθησε Κρονίων.
 νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει
 καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοὶ κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται. (Il.
 20. 306-308)

Homer disagrees even more with those who suppose that Aeneas wandered to and died in Italy. Some try to avoid this conflict by emending to . . . Αἰνείας γένος πάντεσσιν ἀνάξει, / καὶ παῖδες παίδων.

At 853.28 Strabo begins his discussion of Assus. It is a strong and well-fortified city, only reached with great difficulty from its harbor. Consequently, Strabo agrees with the Statement of the Citharist Stratonicus: "Ἀσσον ἔθ', ὥς κεν θᾶσσον ὀλέθρου πείραθ' ἔκηαι (Il. 6. 143, except our text reads ἄσσον). The next Homeric citation is also on Assus (854.26). According to most authorities the city belonged to the Aeolians. Homer, however, assigns it to the Leleges (alleged to be the Carians by some, but distinct in Homer): πρὸς μὲν ἄλλος Κᾶρες καὶ Παίονες ἀγχυλότοξοι / καὶ Λέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες (Il. 10. 428-429). Therefore, the Leleges lived between Aeneas' rule and the people called Cilicians by Homer (854.30).

After the Leleges on the next stretch of coast come the Cilicians according to Homer (855.20). They extend down to the mouth of the Caicus River. The Cilicians were divided into two dynasties, one subject to Eetion, the other to Mynes. Homer calls Thebe the city of Eetion (Il. 1.366): φχόμεθ' ἐς Θήβην ἱερὴν πόλιν Ἑετίωνος. The poet also clearly indicates that Chrysa was Eetion's, if Chryseis

was really taken captive at Thebe (Il. 1.366-369):

ὥχόμεθα γάρ, φησὶν, ἐς Θήβην, . . .
τὴν δὲ διαπράττομεν τε καὶ ἤγομεν ἐνθάδε πάντα,
καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ δάσσαντο μετὰ σφίσιν, . . .
ἐκ δ' ἔλον Ἀτρεΐδῃ Χρυσίδα.

Homer also indicates that Lyrnessus belonged to Mynes, for Achilles (Il. 2.691) Λυρνησσὸν διαπορδήσας καὶ τείχεα Θήβης and slew Mynes and Epistrophus. Homer must, consequently, mean Lyrnessus (not Eetion's Thebe) when he says (Il. 19. 295-296): οὐδέ μ' ἔασκες, ὅτ' ἄνδρ' ἐμὸν ὥκυσ Ἀχιλλεὺς / ἔκτεινεν, πέρσεν δὲ πόλιν θελοιο Μύνητος.

Homer is next cited (857.2 ff.) by Strabo to prove that the Chrysa of the geographer's day could not have been the ancient city. In the first place there is no harbor in the modern city, but Homer says (Il. 1.432): οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ λιμένος πολυβενθέος ἐντὸς ἴκοντο. Chrysa's temple to Sminthian Apollo is not on the sea, although Homer's is (Il. 1.439-441):

ἐκ δὲ Χρυσῆς νηὸς βῆ ποντοπόροιο·
τὴν μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ βωμὸν ἄγων πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεὺς
πατρὶ φίλῳ ἐν χερσὶ τίθει.

Chrysa is not near Thebe, Homer's town is (at any rate the poet says that Chryseis was taken there). Also, there is no Cilla, nor a temple to Cillaeian Apollo, but Homer joins the two (Il. 1.37-38): ὃς Χρύσῃν ἀμφιβέβηκας / Κίλλαν τε ζαθέαν. It is, however, visible in the plain near Thebe. Further proof is that the distance from the Greek ships to the Cilician Chrysa is a day's journey (seven hundred stadia), approximately the length of Odysseus' journey

(see Il. 1.430 ff.). After disembarking Odysseus offered sacrifice, and, since it was turning dark, he stayed the night and left in the morning. The distance from the new Chrysa is much too short.

Near Chrysa in the interior of the Troad is Thebe, now deserted, which Homer speaks of as ὑπὸ Πλάκῳ ὑληέσῃ (Il. 6.396). However, the name "Placus" or "Plax" is not found there at all, and no wooded place is above it (although it is near Ida). Strabo concludes that all these are names of deserted or near deserted places, or of winter torrents and that they are often mentioned only because of their ancient history.

The last mention of Homer in this section on the Troad and Aeolis concerns Teuthras (ruler of an area near the Caicus River) and his country Teuthrania. Certain people conjecture that Teuthras ruled with Telephus. Homer only confuses the issue and is not clear when he says (Od. 11.519-521):

ἀλλ' οἷον τὸν Τηλεφίδην κατενῆρατο χαλκῷ
ἦρω' Εὐρύπυλον, πολλοὶ δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι
κῆτειοι κτείνοντο γυναιῶν εἵνεκα δώρων.

Who are the Ceteians and what does Homer mean by "on account of womanly gifts"?

The Trojan Leleges and the Trojan Cilicians

The next group of citations occurs in Strabo's discussion of the Trojan Leleges and Cilicians (866.1-871.

15). Strabo opens the section by inquiring (as some people do) why these people are not included with the Trojans in the Homeric Catalogue? The geographer argues that, because of their loss of leaders and the sacking of their cities, they were placed under Hector. To be sure, Eetion and his sons were said to have been slain before the marshalling of the troops as listed in the Catalogue:

ἦτοι μὲν πατέρ' ἄμὸν ἀπέκτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 ἐκ δὲ πόλιν πέρσεν Κιλίκων, . . .
 Θήβην ὑψίλον. . .
 οἳ δέ μοι ἐπὶ κασίγνητοι ἔσαν ἐν μεγάροισιν
 οἱ μὲν πάντες ἱφ' κλον ἤματι Ἀἴδος εἴσω.
 πάντας γὰρ κατέπεφνε πόδαρχης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς. (Il.
 6.414-416 and 421-423)

So also did the subjects of Mynes lose their leaders and their city (Il. 2.692 and 19.296): καὶ δὲ Μύνητ' ἔβαλε καὶ Ἐπίστροφον . . . πέρσεν δὲ πόλιν θείοιο Μύνητος. Homer does make the Leleges present at the battles (Il. 10.428-429): πρὸς μὲν ἄλδς Κᾶρες καὶ Παίονες ἀγχυλότοξοι / καὶ Ἀέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες. Homer also says (Il. 14.443-445):

. . . Σάτνιον οὔτασε δουρὶ
 Οἶνοπίδην, ὃν ἄρα νύμφη τέκε Νηῖς ἀμύμων
 Οἶνοπι βουκολέοντι παρ' ὄχθας Σατνιόεντος.

They had not so completely vanished that they did not have some system of their own, for their king still survived (Il. 21.86): Ἀλτεω, ὃς Δελέγεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισιν ἀνάσσει. Their city also had not been completely wiped out (Il. 21.87): Πήδασον αἰπήεσσαν ἔχων ἐπὶ Σατνιόεντι. Nevertheless, Homer leaves them out of the Catalogue, either because they were not important enough on their own or because they were

very closely related to their commander Hector. The latter is supported by Lycaon's statements (Il. 21-84-86):

. . . μινυνθάδιον δέ με μήτηρ
γείνατο Λαοδόη, θυγάτηρ Ἄλταο γέροντος,
Ἄλτεω, ὃς Δελέγεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισιν ἀνάσσει.

Strabo concludes that these are the possibilities.

Strabo's next problem involving Homer concerns the exact bounds of the poet's Cilicians, Pelasgians, and Ceteians. Strabo dismisses the first and last as having been thoroughly exhausted and concentrates on the Pelasgians (867.10 ff.). Strabo proposes that, based on Homer and history in general, it is reasonable to place the Pelasgians after the Cilicians and Ceteians. Homer says (Il. 2.840-843):

Ἴππόθοος δ' ἄγε φύλα Πελασγῶν ἐγγχεσιμῶρων,
τῶν, οἳ Λάρισαν ἐριβόλακα ναιετάασκον.
τῶν ἦρχ' Ἴππόθοος τε Πύλαιός τ' ὄζος Ἄρηος,
οἷε δ' ὧν Λήθοιο Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο.

Because Homer says "tribes" and not "tribe," we may conclude that the Pelasgians were numerous. He also specifies their home as "in Larisa." There are many Larisas, but we must find the most plausible one. The Larisa near Hamaxitus is too close to Ilium for Homer to say that Hippothous fell in the fight over Patroclus τῇλ' ἀπὸ Λαρίσης (Il. 17.301). The Larisa in Ephesus is eliminated since it is not clear whether it was allied with the Trojans or even existence at the time of the Trojan War. This leaves Larisa near Cyme as the most reasonable choice.

Two citations remain in the section. In the first

(868.24) Strabo notes that Pylaeus was called the ruler of the Pelasgians by Homer (Il. 2.842). In the second (in the section on the city of Cyme) Strabo denies that Homer was definitely from Cyme, for many people lay claim to him. Strabo then notes that Cyme got its name from an Amazon, as did the city Myrina from the Amazon who lies in the Trojan Plain. He then quotes Il. 2.813-814 (see above, p. 152 and footnote).

The Interior to the Taurus Mountains

In the last section of Book 13 are found four scattered citations. In the first (while treating Sardis as the royal city of the Lydians) Strabo mentions that the Lydians are called the Meioneians by Homer. At 875.21 ff. Strabo discusses some problems concerning Homer and Lake Gygaea. Strabo notes that Homer mentions it (Il. 2.865) but wonders why people try to make up fantastic stories about the place (supposedly baskets dance by themselves). Homer says (Il. 2.864-866) the following about the place:

Μήοσιν αὖ Μέσθλης τε καὶ Ἀντιφός ἡγησάσθην,
οἷε Ταλαιμένεος, τὼ Γυγαίῃ τέκε λίμνη,
οἳ καὶ Μήονα ἦγον ὑπὸ Τρώλφ γεγαῶτας.

Some people add Τρώλφ ὑπὸ νιφόμεντι, ὕδης ἐν πλοίῳ δῆμψ. No Hyde, however, is found among the Lydians. Some people also put Tychius there, the man of whom Homer says (Il. 7. 220): σκυτοτόμων ὅχ' ἄριστος ὕδῃ ἐνι. These people also add that the place is wooded and subject to lightning, and that the Arimi lived there. They support the last by ad-

ding to Homer's verse, εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφέως ἔμμεναι εὐνάς (Il. 2.783), the following: χώρῳ ἐνὶ δρυόεντι, ὕδης ἐν πλόνι δῆμῳ. Strabo concludes with summaries of other conflicting theories.

The book concludes with two Homeric citations on the correct identification of various peoples. At 877.7 ff. Callinus is quoted as claiming that Sardis was captured by the Cimmerians. He says more specifically that the attack of the Cimmerians was against the Esioneis. Demetrius of Scepsis proposes that this was the Ionic spelling of Asi-oneis. He further conjectures that perhaps Meionia was called Asia and that in accordance with this Homer says in the same way (Il. 2.461): Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καῦστρόλου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.

In the last citation of the book (881.27 ff.) Strabo quotes Homer to support his contention that the Termessians and the Solymi are related. A tomb near the Termessians is called Solymi. Nearby is the palisade of Bellerophon and the tomb of Peisander, who died in battle with the Solymi. All this agrees with what Homer says about Bellerophon (Il. 6.184), δεύτερον αὖ Σολύμοισι μαχέσσατο κυδαλίμοισι, and about his son (Strabo quotes part of Il. 6.204; see above, p. 152). The book ends with a section of Cibyra.

Book 14: Southern Asia Minor

Book 14 completes Strabo's treatment of what is now

called Asia Minor. Except for a more lengthy section later in the book on Apollodorus' commentary on the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, the Homeric citations are scattered and varied.

North of the Maeander

At 887.21 ff. Strabo remarks that Mount Latmus (on the Latmian Gulf near Miletus) is said by Hecataeus to be Homer's mountain of Phtheires (Il. 2.868). Homer is next cited in an anecdote about Samos. A certain Samian Creophylus is said to have entertained Homer and received as a gift from the poet the inscription of the poem, The Capture of Oechalia. Callimachus in an epigram¹⁰⁸ objects and claims that Creophylus composed the poem himself and that it was ascribed to Homer because of the supposed hospitality shown the poet. Some say Creophylus was Homer's teacher.

At 900.30 ff. Strabo states that the Chians also claim Homer and set forth the strong evidence that the Homeridae were descendants of Homer's family. Pindar (Nemean Odes 2.1) testifies to this. At Smyrna is a library and a Homereium, a quadrangular porch with a shrine and a wooden

¹⁰⁸ Jones (vol. 6, 219) translates as follows: "I am the toil of the Samian, who once entertained in his house the divine Homer. I bemoan Eurytus, for all that he suffered, and the golden-haired Ioleia. I am called Homer's writing. For Creophylus, dear Zeus, this is a great achievement."

statue of Homer (901.23 ff.). The reason for this is that the Smyrnaeans also claim Homer (even a bronze coin of theirs is called a Homereium).

At 904.31 Strabo notes that the Magnesians set up a statue to the citharoede Anaxenor. On it was inscribed (Od. 9.3-4: ἦτοι μὲν τόδε καλὸν ἀκουέμεν ἔστιν ᾠδοῦ / τοιοῦδ', οἷος ὅδ' ἔστι, θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιος αὐδῇ. The last letter of the second verse did not fit the tablet, and as a result the city was left open to a charge of ignorance.

Thirty stadia from Nysa is a place called Leimon. Near it is an entrance into the earth which was sacred to the gods. Homer is said to mention this meadow (in which the entrance is) when he says 'Ἀσίφ' ἐν λειμῶνι (907.18; Il. 2.461).

South of the Maeander

While discussing the Caunians (a people near the mouth of the Calbis River), Strabo notes (909.22 ff.) that Stratonicus the citharist, upon seeing that the Caunians were very pale,¹⁰⁹ said that this was Homer's thought in the verse, οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιήδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν (Il. 6.146).

After mentioning the colonization of the Megarian Dorians, Strabo remarks that these things happened later than Homer, for Cnidus and Halicarnassus were not yet in

¹⁰⁹ χληρούς actually is "pale green."

existence, although Rhodes and Cos were (and were inhabited by the Heracleidae). When Tlepolemus grew to manhood, he (Il. 2.662-665)

αὐτίκα πατρός ἐοῖο φίλον μήτρωα κατέκτα
ἦδη γηράσκοντα Λικύμνιον. . .
αἶψα δὲ νῆας ἔπηξε, πολὺν δ' ὃ γε λαὸν ἀγείρας
βῆ φεύγων.

Homer then adds (Il. 2.667-668): εἰς Ῥόδον ἵξεν ἀλώμενος . . . / τριχθὰ δὲ ᾤκηθεν καταφυλαδόν. The poet also names the cities of the time (Il. 2.656): Αἶνδον, Ἰηλυσόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Κάμειρον. Homer, therefore, does not here mention the Dorians by name but perhaps points toward the Aeolians and Boeotians, if it is true that Heracles and Licymnius settled at the place. Homer says of the Coans (Il. 2.678-679): Φεῖδιππος τε καὶ Ἄντιφος ἡγησάσθην, / θεσσαλοῦ υἱεὶς δῶα Ἡρακλείδαο ἀνακτος. This indicates they were Aeolian rather than Dorian. Another myth states that after the Telechines the Heliadae took Rhodes. To one family (Cercaphus and his wife Cydippe) were born the children who founded the cities named after them (Il. 2.656 again quoted here). Homer is quoted once more (913.14 ff.) on Rhodes to attest further to the ancient wealth of the island (Il. 2.668-670):

τριχθὰ δὲ ᾤκηθεν καταφυλαδόν, ἥδ' ἐφίληθεν
ἐκ Διός, ὅστε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει,
καὶ σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων.

From 922.29-924.32 Strabo inquires into Homer's verse on the Carians (Il. 2.867): Μάσθλης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρ-
βαροφώνων. Although Homer knew many barbarian tribes, he

calls the Carians alone "of barbarian speech" and nowhere calls anyone "barbarian." Thucydides' contention that Homer did not use the term "barbarians," because the Hellenes had not yet been distinguished under a single name, is wrong. Homer refutes this when he says: ἀνδρός, τοῦ κλέος εὐρύ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (Od. 1.344 among others); and εἴτ' ἐθέλεις τραφῆναι ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (Od. 15.80). If they were not called barbarians, how could they be spoken of as "of barbarian speech"? Apollodorus' theory is also wrong. Why then does Homer not call them "barbarians"? Apollodorus says, "Because the plural does not fit Homer's meter." However, the nominative case does not differ metrically from "Dardanians" (Il. 11.286): Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι. It is like "Trojan" in Il. 5.222: οἷοι Τρῶιοι ἵπποι. Strabo finally concludes that, since the Carians knew Greek (and it is not likely that they uttered unintelligible and harsh-sounding noises, as some supposed), to "barbarize" must mean to speak Greek badly.

Lycia and Caria

At Pinara, one of the largest cities of Lycia, Pandarus was held in honor. Strabo guesses (928.24) that this may be the Trojan hero, as when Homer says (Od. 19.518):

Πανδαρέου κούρη χλωρηΐς ἀηδών.¹¹⁰ Pandareus is said to have come from Lycia. Homer is cited once more on a problem involving the Lycians. At 930.18 ff. the geographer notes that (as we have already seen) the poet distinguishes the Solymi from the Lycians, for when Bellerophon was sent by the king of the Lycians to the second struggle, Σολύμοισι μάχεσσατο κυδαλίοισιν (Il. 6.184). The others who assert that "Solymi" was the previous name of the Lycians are not in agreement with Homer. Those people are more convincing who assert that by "Solymi" Homer means the people who are now called Milyae (already discussed at 804.25 ff.).

At 940.19 ff. Strabo relates an anecdote concerning an unscrupulous official at Tarsus. Boethus, because he had written a flattering poem in Antony's honor (for his victory at Philippi), was put in charge of expenditures. He was caught stealing and was brought to trial. As he was being proven guilty in the presence of Antony (who had appointed him), he said, "As Homer sang the praises of Achilles, Agamemnon, and Odysseus, I have sung your praises. It is unjust that I be brought before you on such charges." The accuser retorted, "Yes, but Homer did not steal the oil of Agamemnon or Achilles, and you did. Therefore you shall be punished." Homer is again quoted on the philosophers of Tarsus (941.16). Strabo notes that among the other

¹¹⁰ Meineke strikes this quote from his text, but Jones restores it.

philosophers from Tarsus, οὓς κεν εὔ γνῶσιν καὶ τοῦνομα
 μᾶθησάμην (Il. 3.235), are Plutades and Diogenes.

The last group of citations in Book 14 concern the identification of certain Trojan allies and in particular what Apollodorus and others have to say about the problem. After noting (943.21) that Homer's Cilicians (in the Troad) are distant by much from those outside the Taurus Mountains, Strabo states that Apollodorus places all the allies from Asia (enumerated by Homer in the Catalogue) within the "peninsula" (roughly Asia Minor). The geographer attacks this interpretation (as he did in proving that the Trojans had allies outside the Halys River). Strabo focuses upon Apollodorus' narrow definition of the "peninsula." Also suspect is Apollodorus' conception of the tribes of the peninsula. Unlike Ephorus, who lists in detail all the tribes, both Hellenic and barbarian, Apollodorus says that Homer names in the Catalogue the tribes of the Trojans, Paphlagonians, Mysians, Phrygians, Carians, Lycians, Meionians (or Lydians), and other unknown people (for example, the Halizones and Caucones). Outside the Catalogue Homer names the Ceteians, Solymi, Trojan Cilicians and Leleges, but nowhere mentions the Pamphylians, Bithynians, Mariandynians, Pisidians, Chalybians, Milyans, or Cappadocians. The reason is that some were not settled, while others were included among other tribes. Apollodorus has not fairly judged Ephorus (according to Strabo) and has confused and

falsified Homer's words (945.29 ff.). His false and narrow definition of the peninsula prohibits him from making sense. Where, for example, are those people who border on the Pisidians, οἳ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλατταν / ἄνδρες, οὐδέ θ' ἄλεσσι μεμιγμένον εἶδαρ ἔδουσι (946.25; Od. 18.122-123), according to Apollodorus' peninsula? His comments on the confusion of tribes in Homer are quite correct (947.23 ff.), for many changes have taken place. However, his reasons for the poet's passing over some of the tribes (country not settled, tribes included with other tribes) are incorrect. Homer does not mention Cappadocia, Cataonia, or Lycaonia, but neither of Apollodorus' explanations applies. It is also ridiculous for Apollodorus to be concerned with Homer's omissions and to defend the poet, while omitting to tell why Ephorus passed over them. Apollodorus is also wrong to tell us why Homer says Meionians instead of Lydians, but does not say that Ephorus mentions neither of the two.

A further problem is Apollodorus' Halizones. After correctly identifying unknown tribes mentioned by Homer (948.9 ff.), Apollodorus fabricates the Halizones. They and "the birthplace of silver" (as we have already seen) are the fabrications of men who wrote in various ways.

Strabo's final criticism of Apollodorus (948.30) is that in this case he has not discussed the more recent writers who oppose Homer (as he usually does). Apollodorus further identifies things that are not meant to be iden-

tified. An example is the following: Xanthus states that after the Trojan War the Phrygians came from Europe and the left-hand side of the Pontus, and that Scamandrius led them from the Berecynti and Ascania. Apollodorus adds to this that Homer refers to this Ascania mentioned by Xanthus (Il. 2.862-863): Φόρκυς δὲ Φρύγας ἦγε καὶ Ἀσκανίος θεοειδὴς / τῆλ' ἐξ Ἀσκανίης. If this is true, the migration must have taken place after the Trojan War. However, the allied force mentioned by Homer came from the opposite mainland, that is, from Berecynti and Ascania. This leaves the Phrygians, οἳ ῥα τότε ἐστρατόωντο παρ' Ὀχθαῶ Σαγγαρίοιο (Il. 3.187), when Priam says (Il. 3.188): ἐπὶ κούροισι ἐὼν μετὰ τοῖσιν ἐλέγμην. How could Priam have sent for the Phrygians from the Berecynti (with whom he had no contract) and leave his border allies uninvited? Apollodorus is also at fault on Ascania when he says that there is a Mysian village of that name. What prevented Homer from speaking of this Ascania rather than Xanthus'? Strabo then concludes and passes to his description of Cyprus.

Books 15-17: Asia and Africa

In Books 15-17 Strabo completes his description of the world: Asia is treated in 15 and 16; 17 is on Egypt and Libya. As to be expected the Homeric citations are scanty and scattered. In 15 four citations are found. At 958.1 Strabo notes, in discussing Dionysus and India's Mount

Nisa sacred to him, that Homer says of Lycurgus the Edonian the following: ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας / σεῦε κατ' ἡγάθεον Νυσήλιον 6.132-133). Later (970.21) Strabo mentions that Alexander thought he had found the source of the Nile in the Hydaspes River. Alexander soon realized that what he hoped to accomplish was impossible, μέσσω γὰρ μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ δεινὰ ῥέεθρα / Ὀκεανὸς μὲν πρῶτον (Od. 11.157-158). Apparently Strabo thought that Homer knew of this "fact." At 990.16 Strabo notes, in treating the pygmies and the cranes, that Homer knew of their battles (Il. 3.6). At 1025.18 the geographer says that Homer was ignorant of the Syrians and the Medes.

In Book 16 five Homeric citations are found. In the first (1055.16) Strabo states that Homer does not mention Tyre, though it is a favorite of poets. Soon after (1056.16) Homer is cited as knowing that the Sidonians were well-skilled (Il. 23.743). At 1063.3 ff. Strabo quotes Homer (Od. 14.328) to illustrate that common mandates (which Moses and the Jews lacked) come from god: ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλὴν ἐπακούσῃ. In the same way prophets are held in so much honor (1063 at bottom; restored by Jones), as was Teiresias, τῷ καὶ τεθνῆσσι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια / οἴῳ πεπνῦσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σικταὶ ἀΐσσουσιν (Od. 10.494-495). Book 16 closes with a problem in interpreting Homer (1094.13-1095.24). Homer says (Od. 4.84): Αἰθίοπας θ' ἰκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἑρεμβούς. Historians do not know whether the Si-

donians are the colonists or the Sidonians themselves. Secondly, the Erembrians are even more difficult to identify. In the discussion of the various possibilities Strabo notes that Posidonius thinks Homer's Arimi should not be placed in Syria or Cilicia, but should be interpreted as meaning Syria itself. The book closes without a solution.

In Book 17 we find seven citations. At 1102. 25 Strabo identifies Homer as the original authority on the Nile as being fed by rain water: ἄν δ' εἰς Αἰγύπτου διηπετέος ποταμοῦ (Od. 4.477). Homer is next quoted (Od. 17.266) to illustrate how the kings' residences at Alexandria were closely built (like Odysseus' place) ἐξ ἐτέρων ἑτέρ' ἐστίν. At 1112.30 Strabo mentions what appears to be Polybius' quote of Homer (Od. 4.483), which illustrates Egypt's poor state of affairs under the kings: Αἴγυπτον δ' ἰέναι δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ἀργαλήν τε. At 116.30 Strabo states that near the promontory of Zephyrium there is said to have been the ancient town of Thonis. At any rate, Homer speaks of Helen and her drugs as follows (Od. 4.228): ἐσθλά, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν θῶνος παράκοιτις. While discussing the oracle at Ammon, Strabo notes that, as at Delphi and among the Branchidae, the oracular responses are given with nods and tokens, as in Homer (Il. 1.528): ἧ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων. At 1137.26 ff. Strabo opens his treatment of Thebes with two Homeric quotes (Il. 9.383-384 and 381-382). The first is as follows: αἳ θ' ἐκατόμυλοι εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἄν' ἐκάστην / ἄνδρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν

καὶ ὄχρεον. The second is given as proof of the city's ancient wealth: οὐδ' ὅσα θήβας / Αἴγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐνὶ κτήματα κεῖται. In the final citation (1164. 21) Strabo states that Meninx is regarded as the Land of the Lotus-Eaters mentioned by Homer.

In Books 11-17 we again find Strabo defending Homer and using him as a source for, and witness of, noteworthy information. The poet is especially valuable to the geographer when dealing with the Troad and other areas where changes in the passing of time force one to look to the past for significant material. At his worst Strabo haggles about possible text emendations and problems in terminology in order to reconcile the facts of the Trojan War, Homeric times, and his own day. But even more important and more numerous are the citations in which there are echoes of the Trojan War: leaders lost and honored; migrations of tribes; the Trojan battlefield; the strategic position of Ilium and the Greek fleet; the fertility of the Trojan Plain as cause of wars; the interests of Plato, Julius Caesar, and Alexander in Troy. This is material which is especially useful and interesting to Strabo's readers. It is material which is abundantly supplied by Homer.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF THE CITATIONS

It is our task now to judge what evidence the citations themselves yield for, against, and beyond previous interpretations.¹¹¹ Our evaluation requires that we discuss two major groups: first, those citations in which Strabo seems excessively concerned with Homer--passages in which he defends Homer's knowledge by offering correct interpretations, by explaining terms, by reconciling contradictions in place and name, in short, all those places where the geographer's attitude approaches blind faith; second, the citations which do not fall into the first category, that is, the passages in which Strabo sees Homer as a genuine authority, a source of history and geography, and as an artist who provides illustrations, ornamentation, and parallels.

The Citations in Defense of Homer

Chapter II

It is not surprising that the major portion of Book

¹¹¹ See above, pp. 3-7

1 and the Homeric citations in it are concerned with Strabo's defense of Homer's knowledge. Many of the themes introduced here appear again in the later books. Here also Strabo reveals most clearly his insistence upon the extent and accuracy of Homer's knowledge. He begins his work by naming Homer the founder of geography, a philosopher of broad learning, and an inquirer into the art of life and happiness. The geographer shows Homer to be a polymath with an interest in useful things through the poet's knowledge of Oceanus (12-16),¹¹² the Mediterranean (16-17), celestial and terrestrial phenomena (17-18), geometry and astronomy (19-20). Two important elements in Strabo's theory of Homeric interpretations are also present: first, the general truth that poetry instructs (17); second, myth is mingled with fact in poetry (19).

The remainder of Book 1 is Strabo's critical history of his predecessors. As we have seen, it is more accurately described as a rambling defense of Homer as teacher and polymath. Though Homer added myth to fact, the poet clearly had knowledge of geography, generalship, agriculture, and rhetoric. Strabo gives examples of this knowledge as depicted in the character Odysseus (23).

Homer's use of myth is more openly defended by Strabo

¹¹²Numbers in parentheses for this chapter refer to pages in this dissertation.

as a means of effective education (24-25). There is, however, always an historical event behind the myth (25). Strabo follows with a list of facts (25-26). The most pressing problem in uncovering fact behind myth in Homer is the wanderings of Odysseus. Strabo treats the problem in detail (26-33) and concludes that the truth in fact and history, to which mythical additions have been made, should be sought.

Strabo then returns to more direct defense of Homer's knowledge, delving into specific geographical matters: Homer mentions places in order when necessary (33-34). He knows of the "climata" and winds (34-36). Egypt and Ethiopia were also known to the poet (36-48), and when Menelaus' wanderings are correctly interpreted, they also reflect Homer's knowledge (44-46).

In the remainder of Book 1 Strabo returns to his defense of Homer. Oceanus is cloaked in myth (48-49), Odysseus' wanderings are not completely fictitious (50), Jason's voyage is based in fact (50-51), and the Ithacan grottos have disappeared with the passage of time (53).

Two further passages in Books 1 and 2 illustrate Strabo's defense of Homer. In Book 1 Strabo proposes that certain lines of Homer can be interpreted as showing the poet's knowledge of the action of the sea (52). In 2 Strabo sees Posidonius' division of the world into three continents as explaining Homer's twofold division of the

Ethiopians (53-54).

Chapter III

In Books 3-7 Strabo again employs the majority of the Homeric citations in defense of the poet's knowledge. The first group (61-63) is a more detailed discussion of a subject first presented In Book 1--Homer knows the west through the Phoenicians though the facts have been altered in poetic fashion. The fact behind myth theme continues (65) as Strabo shows that Homer knew of the Argonauts at Portus Argous, Avernus as the site of the Necyia, and the Cimmerians as people who never see the sun.

Strabo continues to defend Homer and argues that Temesa is in Italy, the islands of the Liparaei are Homer's islands of Aeolus, and Zoïlus is inconsistent, even though he thought Homer was a writer of myths (65-66). More exegesis of this sort begins to appear in Strabo's work: arguments on terminology, identification of places with the same names, in short, reconciliation between the world of Homer and that of Strabo's time. The extant portion of Book 7 concludes with a defense of Homer's knowledge of the northern tribes against Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and Ephorus (66-69), and a discussion of the identity of the Helli and Selli (70).

In the fragments are found various passages in which Homer is defended (70-73). Homer calls the Europus River

the Titaresius because it has its source on Mount Titarius. The cities of Crannon and Gyrtion are mentioned by Homer. Homer's Amydon is now called the Abydon River. By an emendation of the text Homer's statements about the Axios River can be reconciled with the conditions of Strabo's time. The poet correctly names the sons of Pelegon and the Sinties as the inhabitants of Lemnos. Homer's Iphidamas is probably from Cissus.

Chapter IV

In Books 8-10, though Strabo continues at times to defend Homer by searching for fact behind myth, it is no longer the predominant concern of the geographer. Instead Strabo is faced with reconciling the conditions of Homeric times and of his own, correctly interpreting conflicting terms, and identifying Homeric places with the same name.

Strabo notes first that Elis had not been founded by Homer's time and that Homer generally names countries and not cities in the Peloponnese (78). Pylus (to be discussed fully below), however, is the name of a city applied to a region (78). In two passages Strabo further argues the identification of Homer's Pylus (81; 87-91). We may also list the following passages with similar arguments for correctly identifying a place mentioned by Homer:

Ephyra situated on the Selleeis River (79-80);

places in Il. 2.615-619 identified (82-83);
 Cauconians located (83-85);
 Homer's Iardanus River near Cape Pheia (85);
 Helus near Eurotas River (85);
 places in Messenia located (93-94);
 Homer's Lacedaemon located (94);
 Homer's Aegina located (100);
 places mentioned in and out of order (100);
 mainland and island mentioned together (100);
 places in Mycenae located (100-101);
 places in Il. 2.496-756 identified (106-121);
 Chalcis located in Euboea (122);
 Leucas identified (123-124);
 Cephallenians identified (124-125).

In another large group of citations Strabo simply states, in discussing some matter, that Homer had knowledge of the place. These are similar to the open defenses of Book 1 but on a smaller scale:

Homer knows Cyllene (79);
 Homer knows the Selleeis River (79);
 Homer knows Achaean cities (102-103);
 Anthedon near Isus as Homer says (105);
 Homer knows Copae (105);
 Homer knows Haliartus is grassy (105-106);

Homer knows Cephissus River has source in Libaea (106);
 Cephissian Lake mentioned by Homer (106);
 Homer knows Geraestus (122);
 Homer knows Olenus and Pylene (123);
 Homer knows Calydon (130);
 Homer knows Minos and Crete (135-137);
 Homer knows the Sporades (137-138).

Strabo also defends Homer's knowledge when the poet's information does not agree with that of Strabo's time:

Triphylia is sandy as Homer says (85);
 Sparta is hollow as Homer says (94);
 Lacedaemonia is κητήεσσα as Homer says (95);
 Helene is site of Paris' speech to Helen (104).

At times Strabo is able to reconcile what Homer says with the circumstance of his own day by a change in terminology:

Samicum is Homer's Arene (86);
 Homer's Messe is Messene (93);
 Homer's Achaean Argos is the Peloponnese and Laconia (95);
 meanings of Argos clarified (97);
 Hylice is not Hyde (106);
 Euboeans are Homer's Abantes (122);

Homer's Asteris is Asteria (128);
 Homer's Samos is Samothrace (128-129);
 Oxeiae are Homer's Thoae (129);
 Homer's Syros is Syria (139);

These passages constitute Strabo's defense of the poet in Books 8-10. We shall see problems of the same kind in Books 11-17, although, as we shall note, they are not the only Homeric citations, numerous though they be.

Chapter V

In Books 11-17 we again find Strabo's defense of Homer falling into the same categories. We may list them briefly. Let us begin with the citations in which Strabo locates a Homeric country or people:

Bithynian tribes located (150);
 places after the Aesepus River (159-160);
 places between Abydus, Lampsacus, and Parium (160);
 Pelasgians located (175);
 Larisa located (175).

There are also passages in which Strabo comes openly to Homer's defense:

Sangarius River mentioned by Homer (144);

Homer knows Aegialus, a village and shore (144);
 Homer knows the Paphlagonians (144);
 Homer knows Libya and Lips (148);
 Homer knows the Trojan Plain (154-156);
 Homer knows the Heptaporus River (155);
 Homer knows the Selleeis River near Arisbe (160);
 more places mentioned by Homer (163);
 Homer knows of the sack of Troy (163);
 Homer knows the Trojan Plain (163);
 Homer knows the Caresus River (168);
 Homer defended against Demetrius concerning Halizonium (168);
 Homer knows the temple of Sminthian Apollo (169);
 Leleges and Cilicians known by Homer (173-175);
 Homer knows Lake Gygaea (176);
 Homer knows Leimon near Nysa (179);
 Homer's knowledge of Asia Minor defended against Apollo-
 dorus (183-184);
 Homer knows Mount Nysa, Pygmies and Cranes, Sidonians
 (185-187).

Strabo attempts to reconcile the conditions of the
 poet's time with those of his own in the following pas-
 sages:

location of Pharos (143);
 identity of the Cauconians (143-144);

identity of the Eneti in Paphlagonia (144);
 location of Ilium (164-167);
 extent of Ida (167-168);
 location of Chrysa (172-173).

The following problems in terminology are found in
 Books 11-17:

identity of Chalybes and Halizoni (145-147);
 extent of Lycia (152);
 Homer's Achaeans and Trojans (153);
 location of Paesus (159);
 location of the Practius River (160);
 Trojan Leleges and Cilicians (169-170);
 Homer's Meionia is Asia (176);
 Termessians related to Solymi (177);
 Mount Latmus is Homer's Phtheiria (178);
 Pandareus, Solymi, and Tartessians discussed (181-182);
 Meninx is the Lotus-Eaters' Island (188).

It is clear in these passages that Strabo can be criticized for his veneration of Homer. Not only does he open his work with an impassioned plea in behalf of Homer's knowledge, but even in the remainder of his work the geographer engages in discussions of text emendations, terminology, and problems in the locations of peoples and

places--all in an effort to display Homer's knowledge, to bring the poet into agreement with the facts. But Strabo does not accept Homer without reservation. There is a small but significant group of citations in which the geographer qualifies or denies the extent of Homer's knowledge. We now turn to this group.

It is surprising that in Strabo's defense of Homer in Book 1 statements are found which show that the geographer was far from accepting Homer as an infallible authority. Strabo first says that it is extreme to deny Homer vast learning, although the man who attempts to endow Homer with every skill and art is ridiculous (22). In the discussion of Odysseus' wanderings, taking them as plain fact is considered the inferior method of interpretation (27). A little further on Strabo advises us not to seek that the poet be absolutely accurate in every detail (29), and that discrepancies between present conditions and those of Homer's time must be attributed to changes accomplished by time, ignorance, or poetic license (30). Strabo's conclusions on myth hiding fact in Odysseus' wanderings are far from absolute: the stories should neither be minutely scrutinized, nor cast away as having no real basis in truth or history (32); the wanderings of Odysseus cannot be completely fictitious.

Further criticism of Homer is found outside Book 1, sometimes in specific reference, other times as a general

statement. The poet is criticized for not always being clear (83) and for not telling the truth (85). Later (100-101) Strabo notes that Homer does not mention Thyreae nor does he know Hysiae, Cenchreae, Creopolus, Lyrceium, and Orneae. Homer's influence is not always useful to Strabo's work: three cities mentioned by Homer are not only hard to find but useless because they are deserted and, therefore, of interest to no one (103). Because Homer tends to embellish things in poetic fashion, the sacred precinct of Poseidon is described as a grove, even though it is a barren height (108). Strabo also criticizes Homer for not clearly expressing himself about Cephallenia or Ithaca and the adjoining territory (125).

In Books 11-17 Strabo contends that Homer's ignorance can be seen only when he does not mention significant things (147-149). In the beginning of his treatment of the Troad, Strabo asks the reader's indulgence because writers and historians agree on almost nothing--among the historians is Homer, who leaves most things to guesswork. The geographer notes later that Placus or Plax is not found in the interior of the Troad as Homer says, nor is there a wooded place near it (173). Homer is also confusing on Teuthras (173), and the Sidonians and Erembians (186-187). We now turn to the citations in which Strabo makes definite use of Homer.

The Citations as Sources

The first group of citations are those which Strabo uses as a source for ancient history--an area which we have already seen is valuable for the geographer. In Books 3-7 Strabo cites Homer as an authority for history concerning the migrations in the west (61-62 and 64-65) and the Pelasgians at Dodona (70). In the former, while defending Homer's knowledge of the western Mediterranean, the geographer notes that external signs in the regions of Italy, Sicily, and Iberia prove that wanderings did take place in the west after the Trojan War, both by the Trojans and the Greeks: the former because their homes were destroyed; the latter because, as Homer says, "It was shameful to remain a long time and then return home with nothing" (Il. 2.298). Strabo later concludes that the wandering Greeks were successful in obtaining the wealth of the Iberians because the Iberians were not unified against common enemies.

In Book 7, while describing the geography of Epirus and Illyria, Strabo notes that in earlier times these countries had been rugged and mountainous but still populous. In his own time they were mostly desolate, the inhabited portions in ruins and surviving only in villages. So too is the oracle at Dodona extinct. This leads the geographer to inquire into the Pelasgian origin of the oracle and the origin of the Pelasgians themselves. The Homeric citations in this passage appear as genuine sources of ancient his-

tory. Ancient history, in turn, is important to Strabo because it provides the most noteworthy characteristics of many regions.

In Books 8-10 numerous citations are found scattered through Strabo's work in which Homer can be seen as a source of ancient history. It again seems that virtually all of them have been included by Strabo because they provide significant information about an area not otherwise available. We need only briefly describe each passage: Homer proves that the Eleian country was divided into three parts in ancient times (78). The Cauconians were allies of the Trojans (84). At one time there was a town Pheia at Cape Pheia (85). Homer is the most remarkable, oldest, and most experienced of ancient historians (87). Eleian inferiority to the Pylians at the time of the Trojan War is proved by the poet (92). Homer disproves the theory of Olympic Games in his time (92-93). Pisatis' fame is due to early great leaders (93). Homer provides the ancient history of Messenia (93). Helus was a city in earlier times (94). Homer shows that Mycenae was subdued after the Trojan War (99-100) and that Orchomenus was a wealthy and powerful city in earlier times (109). Delphi is an ancient city (110), Daphnus at one time divided the Locrians (112), and Thessaly is the largest and oldest organization in Greece and was divided into ten dynasties at the time of the Trojan War (113). Homer clearly intends both Achilles and Phoenix to be the

leaders over the same army (114). The Phthians were subject to Achilles, Protesilaus, and Philoctetes (115). Homer provides facts on early history of Polypoetes' country (119-120). At the time of the Trojan War the Echinades were ruled by Meges and the Taphians by Mentos (129-130)--the latter a people friendly also with the Ithacans (130). Homer supplies the history and origins of the Curetes (132-134), and information about ancient Crete (135-136).

Further evidence is found in the citations of Books 11-17 that Strabo used Homer as a source for ancient history, a source who provided significant information. We may again briefly list the passages: Homer shows that Rhodes and Cos were inhabited by the Greeks before the Trojan War (152-153) and seeks the historical Troy in his works (153). At the time of the Trojan War the coast from the promontory of Lectum to that of Canae was part of Priam's rule (155-157). Troy was small in ancient times (163) and was destroyed completely (167). Homer tells us that Aeneas stayed in Troy (170-171). The Leleges and Cilicians lost their leaders and were sacked before the Trojan War (174-175). Homer provides information on the ancient tribe of the Pelasgians (175) and proves that the colonization of the Megarian Dorians took place after the Trojan War (179-180). Near Zephyrium was the ancient town of Thonis (187). Thebes had a hundred gates and was wealthy in ancient times (187-188).

Homer is also seen by Strabo as a general storehouse of fact, without regard for time. For example, in Book 2 (54) Strabo quotes Homer as a source for the fact that the northern and southern hemispheres are divided in two. In Books 3-7 Strabo cites Homer to prove Iberia's wealth (59-60) and to demonstrate the extent of the Hellespont (72-73). We may briefly describe the rest.

In Chapter IV we learn from Strabo that Homer shows that Geraestus is a convenient port for those sailing to Attica (122). The poet also provides information on the Euboean method of hand-to-hand fighting (122-123). Information on Crete's ethnology and significant cities of the island is found in Homer (134-136).

In Chapter V Strabo states that Comana and the temple of Enyo are said to be in the Antitaurus Mountains according to Homer (143). Homer proves that the Trojan Plain was fertile (152-153). The poet sets the limits of the rule of the Trojans (154-156). Homer provides information on Lake Gygaea (176). Between Greece and the source of the Nile are great rivers and the stream of Oceanus (186). The Sidonians were skilled craftsmen (186). The Nile is fed by rain water (187).

In Strabo's use of Homer for illustrations, ornamentation, and parallels--citations included in his work by Strabo for aesthetic effect, to strengthen a statement, to

provide similar information--we find another valid category for citations as sources.

Book 1 provides good examples of these citations. Strabo comments that Homer's method is comparable with that of an Indian geographer (18-19). He then notes that a knowledge of astronomy is essential for the geographer so that he does not call out in distress as Odysseus did (19-20). The geographer argues that poetry is educative and notes that Homer seems to regard bards as wise men also (21-22). Strabo directly quotes Homer to illustrate the function of myth as an inducement to learning (24). Later Strabo quotes Homer on wave action (52) and proper amputation (53).

In Books 11-17 more of these citations are found. Strabo notes that Media, like Armenia, is a good horse-pasturing country (143). Hellanicus is described by a Homeric phrase (167), as are certain philosophers of Taurus (182-183). The poet also provides parallels to Moses and the Jews (186). The kings' residences at Alexandria are like Odysseus' palace (187). Oracular responses at Delphi and among the Branchidae are given with nods and tokens as in Homer (187).

Beside citations in defense of Homer and citations used as sources, there is a group of miscellaneous citations--citations mainly found in other writers or bits of

information on Homer's life. We may list them briefly:
Eratosthenes quotes Homer to make a point about Bion (21).
Posidonius uses Homer to make a point about Solon (53-54).
Pheidias quotes Homer and uses the poet's scene in his own
painting (91-92). Some people conjecture that Homer lived
before the Ionian colonization (101-102). Lycurgus is said
to have met Homer (137). Demetrius gives his interpretation
of Il. 2.676-677 (138). Plato uses Homer in his descrip-
tion of the stages of civilization (161-162). Julius Caesar
was interested in Troy because of Homer (162). Demetrius
quotes Il. 16.738 (170-171), and Stratonicus interprets Il.
6.143 (179). Homer conjectured to be from Cyme (176). The
tale of Creophylus is told (178). The Chians claim Homer
(178). The Magnesians inscribed a Homeric verse on a statue
(179). Boethus mentions Homer in his defense (182).
Polybius uses Homer to illustrate the poor condition of
Egypt (187).

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

At this point it should be clear that the Homeric citations are a more complex problem than the critics have thought it to be. The present evaluation of the citations presents solid evidence that Strabo not only defends Homer but also uses him as a reliable source for ancient history, general truth, and aesthetic charm. We must conclude that no single theory so far presented is completely and exclusively correct. The preponderance of citations on finding fact behind myth, reconciling the conditions of Homer's time and before with Strabo's, correctly interpreting conflicting terms, and identifying places mentioned in Homer with the same name supports the contention that Strabo seems obsessed with Homeric studies proving the poet's accuracy. On the other hand, the passages in which Strabo questions Homer's knowledge show that the geographer does exercise critical judgement in dealing with Homer. This evaluation also provides evidence for the theories of those scholars who see a definite purpose in Strabo's concern with Homer. The poet provides general information, and Strabo shows true appreciation of Homer as poet in his use of

Homeric citations for illustrations, ornamentation, and parallels. Strabo's extensive use of Homer in ancient history is another example of Strabo's employing Homeric citations as a valid source. In sum, although they are not as numerous as the citations in defense of Homer, passages are to be found which show Homer to be a source of historical information, general knowledge, and illustrations, ornamentation, and parallels.

If no one theory holds true, we are forced to ask why Strabo depends so much upon Homer, and, because he does, why he must defend the poet as much as he has done. The long-standing answers have been as follows: One tenet of Stoic philosophy was total acceptance of Homer's veracity, and Strabo was a Stoic. Second, Strabo was a member of the school of Pergamum, which had a renewed interest in Homeric studies. Third, all geography before Strabo had been concerned in one way or another with Homer, and Strabo was only following suit. And yet we have often discussed in this paper another possible solution, one only lightly touched upon by critics but more directly supported by the purpose and substance of Strabo's work.

Much of Greece and the Troad was desolate and in ruins by Strabo's time. The glory days had passed, leaving only a hollow shell of what had once been a thriving culture. In his description we have noted frequently that Strabo asks the pardon of the reader when relating facts

about the legends or history of a place or people. He rejects anything not worth noting but insists that anything significant must be included in his geography. The Homeric citations on ancient history are the largest group of citations outside those in defense of the poet and suggest that the geographer found much in Homer which provided information not otherwise available. A tally of the citations on ancient history shows that the majority fall into the books on Greece and Asia Minor (only four outside Books 8-17). Strabo relies heavily on Homer as a source of historical fact--this much we can safely conclude--but can we ascertain the reason why this is so? The answer hinges on our ability to pinpoint the geographer's principles of selection--what is worthy of inclusion, what must be left out.

The work opens with a statement of the requirements needed in a geographer. Strabo says that geography, though useful to any man (his example is the hunter), is especially useful to commanders and rulers (those who serve the state), and is more conspicuous ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις . . . ὅσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μείζω τὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας καὶ τὰ σφλάματα τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀπειρίας. A work of geography cannot be scientifically accurate in all respects (ἅπαντα ἀκριβοῦν), διὰ τὸ εἶναι πολιτικωτέραν. And who surpasses all men, ancients and moderns alike, not only in his poetry, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν τι καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐμπείρῳ τὸν πολιτικόν? Homer, of course. Thus, Strabo does not see Homer primarily as a

scientific source. Rather, the poet excels in portraying useful lessons--lessons which reflect the actual geography of the regions that furnished the scenes of myths. But does Strabo actually see Homer as an authority for information which will be useful for rulers and commanders? We have already noted this several times, but let us consider the following selected passages in addition.

In Strabo's description of the western Mediterranean it is stated that the most notable characteristic of the whole area (and of Turdetania in particular) is its natural wealth in metals. Both the wandering Greeks (after the fall of Troy) and the Romans of Strabo's time took advantage of Iberia's lack of unity to procure the country's wealth. One important witness to these facts is Homer. As Strabo defends the poet it becomes clear that Homer's value to the geographer is in being a source of useful knowledge--knowledge of Iberia's physical characteristics, knowledge of the Greeks' ability to capitalize on Iberia's weakness, knowledge which remains useful and edifying for Strabo's readers.

In Books 8-10 more citations are found in which Strabo uses Homer as a source of knowledge which is useful and interesting to commanders and ruler. In his discussion of Pylus the geographer mentions Nestor's raid on the Eleians, its manner and timing, the actual combat, the tally of the plunder. A little later Strabo notes that Pisatis' fame is

due to the city's early great leaders and that Cnossus is the greatest city of Crete according to Homer. In a more practical strain, the geographer credits Homer with knowing that Geraestus is a strategic port and that the Euboeans had a unique method of hand-to-hand fighting.

This same concern for utility is found in Books 11-17. Wars occurred in Troy because the plain was fertile, Homer places battles in the Trojan Plain because it is very wide, and for the same reasons Strabo spends a great deal of time accurately defining the extent of the Trojan Plain and Troy.

These are but a few of the many passages we have discussed which would be of interest to men of exalted positions. In fact, many of the citations in defense of Homer also fall into this category, for they show that Homer did provide lessons for those who care for the needs of the state. We may, consequently, draw the following conclusion: Strabo uses Homer so extensively because the poet provides useful and interesting information--information valuable to rulers and commanders, the group to whom Strabo primarily addresses his work. In turn, Strabo must engage in the discussion of Homeric problems and come to the poet's defense if he is to present him as a credible source. For this reason the geographer takes every opportunity to prove Homer's knowledge. We may now sum up briefly.

The contexts of the citations indicate that Strabo

used Homer like any other of his sources, weighing and selecting according to the standards set forth in his work. It is incorrect to view the Homeric citations as a kind of residue left in the Geography which had been carried into it along with other sources (as Bidder and Honigmann might suggest). On the contrary, Strabo had definite uses for Homer as a source for general information, ancient history, and illustrations, ornamentation, and parallels. These uses were founded in the principles of Strabo's work, in his intention to present information which would be useful and edifying for men in exalted positions. Because Homer was the source of much controversy, Strabo was forced to defend his much-used source in order to make him credible. In the final analysis we must not judge Strabo's use of Homer on scientific principles, for the geographer denies that himself. Rather, it is in Homer's depiction of man in the state and Strabo's desire to educate the leaders of states that these two writers share a common ground. It should not be surprising to us, who still consider Homer the spiritual source of western culture, that Strabo returns to Homer time and time again in his own attempt to make sense of the inhabited world.

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